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No.31

DECEMBER 1990

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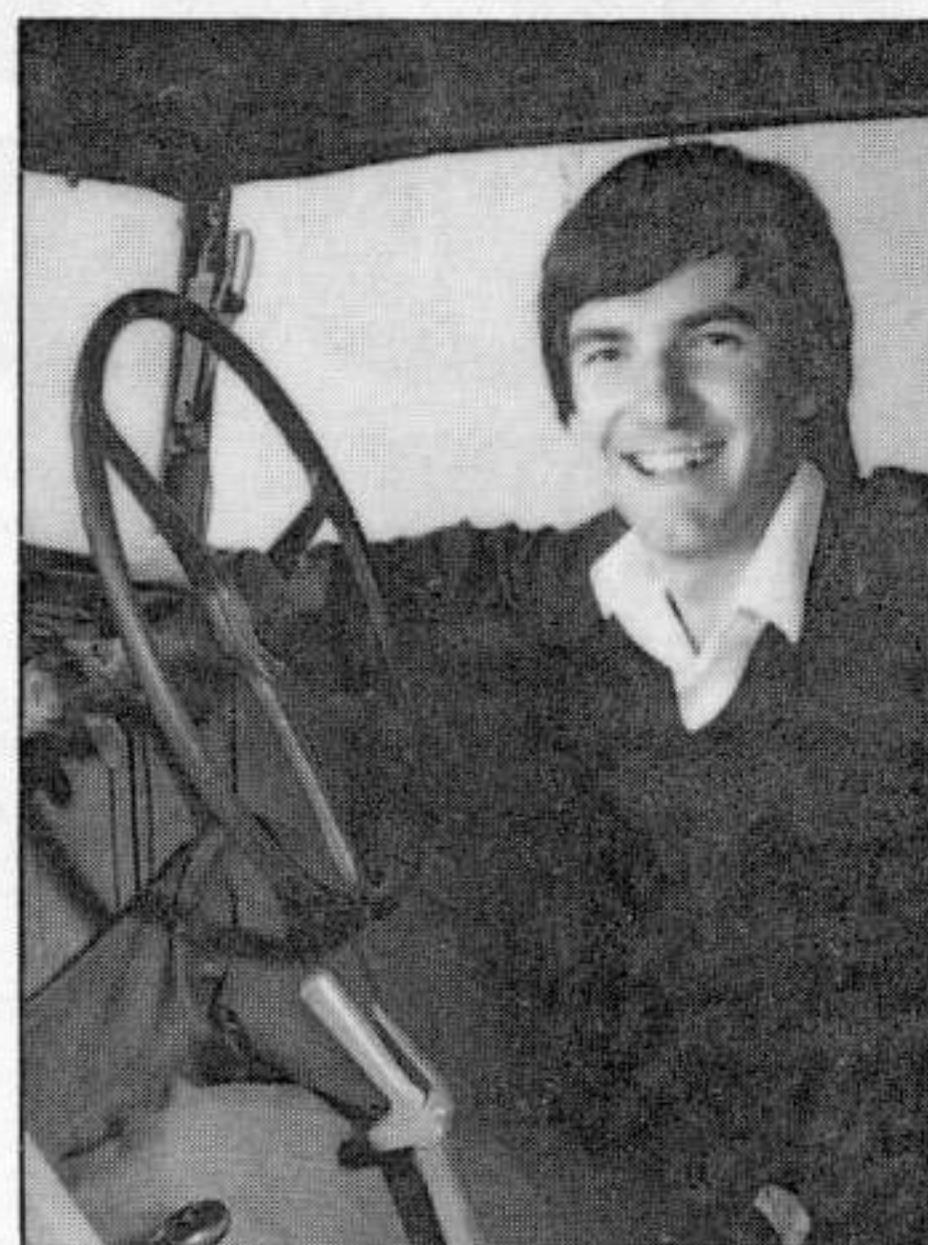
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EDITORIAL

Our cover feature on the National Army Museum's exciting new exhibition, 'The Road to Waterloo', is by Julian Humphrys. Born in Southampton in 1958, Julian read Modern History at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He worked in the tourist industry before joining the staff of the National Army Museum in 1986, and currently holds the post of senior information officer at the museum. A member of the History Re-enactment Workshop, he helped to organise the successful 1688 'living history' project at the NAM last winter; has lectured on, and organised, battlefield tours in Normandy; and has made numerous broadcasts on military history and the work of the museum.

Celluloid Chronicles Home Video

In 'M' No. 26, on pp. 47 and 50, we accepted two advertisements from this American company for archive videos. The advertisements were accepted in good faith from an apparently reputable company. We have heard from some readers that they have been unable to contact this company after placing orders which are not fulfilled, and we have experienced difficulty in contacting the company ourselves.



Julian Humphrys

Fort Nelson Appeal

On 18 September an extraordinary meeting took place to launch a million-pound appeal to complete the restoration and display of Fort Nelson, Portsmouth. It was between the Duke of Wellington and Earl Nelson of Trafalgar, and recalls the only previous recorded meeting between these two immortal names, when the then Maj. Gen. Arthur Wellesley and Lord Nelson met by chance on 12 September 1805 at the Colonial

Office while each waited to see the Secretary of War and the Colonies, Lord Castlereagh. The following day Nelson embarked on HMS *Victory* in Portsmouth for the campaign which would ultimately cost him his life.

The Fort is being restored by the Royal Armouries and Hampshire County Council as the new home of the nation's artillery collection. Currently only 12% of the Armouries' collection is on public display due to limited space in HM Tower of London. The Fort, a fine example of Victorian military architecture, provides an ideal setting for an internationally renowned collection which ranges from a working model of a Roman catapult, through medieval bombards, muzzle-loading cannon and mortars up to World War II artillery. Many of these pieces already feature in regular weekend demonstrations of gun drills and firing during the spring to autumn season. Visitors will also be able to see demonstrations of garrison life, and to study the science of artillery through the ages. This appeal will enable the Fort to offer an expanded range of displays and demonstrations, recreations and re-enactments.

The announced plans seem to promise not only a museum of international importance but also a lively and stimulating approach which we can only applaud. The total cost of the scheme is an estimated £2 mil-

lion, of which the Royal Armouries are committed to providing half from their own funds. Readers interested in supporting this important project should note the address: The Director, Fort Nelson Appeal Office, 15 St. James's Place, London SW1A 1NW.

Dubois-Drahonet Exhibition

From 12 December to 10 March 1991 the National Army Museum, London, will be presenting a special exhibition of the paintings of individual officers and men of the British Army commissioned in 1831 from the French artist Alexandre-Jean Dubois-Drahonet by King William IV. He completed 92 of these striking and beautifully detailed studies by 1834; and HM the Queen has most generously lent these to the NAM for exhibition. Uniform students should not miss a chance to see these fine works, which will not soon come again. The details of regimental uniform and equipment — in many cases, from the rear as well as the front — are most valuable; and interest is added by the identification of the sitters. In many cases research by the NAM staff has revealed colourful details of the careers of these officers and men, some of whom were veterans of the Napoleonic Wars. We intend to publish some representative examples of these portraits in a future issue of 'M'.

September saw the culmination of the spectacular celebrations for the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Britain. Various rooms sought to maximise the coverage of their sales and in so doing the various RAF charities reaped some benefits. Phillips' held a sale in which all the lots had been donated and all the proceeds went to sundry charities.

Sotheby's held a much bigger sale on 15 September and donated part of their profits to similar good causes. The 700 lots ranged over a wide area, from souvenirs to Spitfire and Hurricane aircraft: prices realised ranged from £25 to £115,000. Propellers sold at prices from £250 to £700, and a piece of a Kamikaze suicide plane went for £140. Even the commemorative Battle of Britain swords produced by the Wilkinson Sword company benefitted from a revival of interest; an ordinary version sold for £400, and the gold-hilted version made £3,800.

A certain irony must be apparent to survivors of the Battle when they see a pair of 1939 pattern flying boots sell at £300 — probably more than the pilots earned in several months of combat! A Luftwaffe parachute of 1942 sold for £600; and Pilot Officer Bader's Cranwell RAF College cricket cap made a staggering £950. Medals sold extremely well with the top price, £115,000, paid for a group which included the first Victoria Cross ever awarded to a Royal Flying Corps officer.

Glendining's held a medal sale on the following Monday, and it is

THE AUCTION SCENE

interesting, if fruitless, to speculate on any effect the Sotheby's sale might have had on prices. Single campaign medals still seem to be rather static with Crimea Medals at around the £120—£140 mark, and a Queen's South Africa Medal at £100 for a World War I casualty. The earlier 19th century examples seem to have revived somewhat, with Military General Service and Waterloo Medals exceeding their estimates. This sale also included some RAF medal groups, and one such to a squadron leader realised £1,800.

Earlier in the month Christie's held a sale of arms and armour and the general atmosphere in the rooms was described as 'low key', with bidding generally lacking in spirit; however, the overall sale figure was quite good, with nearly 80% of lots sold. A good Saxon left hand dagger sold at £1,100, and a good Saxon rapier at £12,000. Staff weapons, such as halberds, were selling at £300 to £500, which is just about their market value over the last year or so. A fine, early Sempach type halberd did exceed these figures, making £1,350.

One of the highly decorated morions of the Saxon Electoral Guard sold at £8,000; whilst a Second Model Dragoon Colt percussion revolver sold at £2,200, and fairly ordinary service flintlock pistols did

well, with £500 paid for a New Land pattern pistol.

At Phillips' sale on 27 September the Third Reich material sold well, although prices were fairly stable at around the estimates. A Luftwaffe officer's dagger, second model, went for £110, SA men's daggers at £120, and a complete Third Reich police dress bayonet realised £160. There were one or two surprises, such as the recurved Indian bow which reached £260. Badges still retain their popularity, and helmet plates including RASC and other units were fetching around £40-£50 each. Georgian gorgets seem to remain stable at around the £100-£150 mark. As always armour achieved good prices. Part of a private armour collection sold well, with a single 16th century gauntlet making £440 and a 16th century breastplate £320. An unusual anime breastplate fashioned from a series of narrow overlapping horizontal plates went for £750 which, considering their rarity, must be thought a bargain. A good, solid helmet for the tilt reached a reasonable £3,200, and a burgonet £1,600.

At the end of the month there was the Autumn London Arms Fair and this, and the April Fair, are always reliable indicators as to the state of the trade. Without being too pessimistic almost all the dealers were

stressing how static trade was, and many reckoned that things were unlikely to change in the near future. There was a marked influx of Continental business, and one dealer in firearms reckoned that probably 80% of his business had been with overseas clients. The number of visitors was also slightly down, but on the whole the trade seemed prepared to face difficult times with a reasonable cheerfulness.

How the proposed EEC firearms legislation will affect the market must remain conjectural since the Commission are still examining the law as passed by the Euro-Parliament. The results of their deliberations will probably be known by Christmas and there will then be a time lapse until Parliament introduces the appropriate legislation. It could well be that within perhaps five years the shooting sports that we know will be a thing of the past. There is strong lobbying to reduce the harshness of some of the restrictions, but those in the legal profession with an understanding of Euro-politics are not particularly optimistic. The results of the crippling restrictions proposed will have a 'knock-on' effect and the failing firearms trade will gradually affect clothing, book sellers, publishers, and other fringe trades as well as the auction rooms. As always it will be the legitimate shooter who will suffer, while the criminal and terrorist will still acquire all the weapons they need.

Frederick Wilkinson

Video Releases to Buy:
 'Viva Zapata' (CBS/Fox:PG)
 'Desirée' (CBS/Fox:U)
 'The Young Lions'
 (CBS/Fox:15)
 'The Saboteur — Code Name
 Morituri' (CBS/Fox:PG)

CBS/Fox's 'Brando Collection' comprises four films likely to appeal to readers of 'MI'. In Elia Kazan's *Viva Zapata* (1952) Marlon Brando plays the famous Mexican revolutionary. It begins in 1909 when Zapata, with fellow peasants from the state of Morelos, attempts to confront President Porfirio Diaz about their stolen lands. After further incidents Zapata and his brother Eufemio (Anthony Quinn) join the revolution under Francisco Madero. Zapata conducts a successful campaign as leader of the army of the South. Madero assumes power, but prevaricates over restoring land to the peasants. When General Victoriano Huerta has Madero shot and attempts to ambush Zapata, the latter is forced to take up arms again.

The script, by John Steinbeck, does not attempt to include all the important events of the revolution, nor does the budget allow the portrayal of the size and scope of the conflict. However, it is arguably Hollywood's best attempt to deal with the issues behind the revolution, while containing a sub-text about the corrupting effect of power. Kazan studied the Casasola photographs of the revolution to ensure an authentic visual style, and includes a recreation of the famous photograph of Zapata and Pancho Villa seated side by side in the National Palace in December 1914. Zapata's betrayal and martyrdom is effectively staged: his white horse Blanco escapes as an unbridled symbol of freedom. Brando gave a most memorable performance, but it was Anthony Quinn, as Eufemio, who won an Oscar as best supporting actor. However, the most enigmatic and interesting character is that of a cynical and politically motivated intellectual played by Joseph Wiseman.

Henry Koster's *Desirée* (1954) was about Desirée Clary (Jean Simmons), the silk-shop owner's daughter from Marseilles who was once engaged to Napoleon but rose to become Queen of Sweden. The film begins in Marseilles in 1794 when Desirée is first introduced to General Buonaparte (Marlon Brando), the hero of Toulon. Her sister Julie marries Napoleon's brother Joseph; but although they become engaged, Napoleon decides to marry the influential Joséphine de Beauharnais (Merle Oberon). However, Desirée meets and marries Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte (Michael Rennie), who eventually accepts an offer of the throne of Sweden. As Napoleon and Bernadotte become increasingly opposed, Desirée finds her loyalties split between her husband and former fiancé. The film takes place over more than 20 years, and is structured in the form of Desirée's diary. It does not attempt to portray the momentous events of the period; the retreat from Moscow is conveyed solely by

ON THE SCREEN



the use of flags, drums, fire and snow. Indeed, the film is almost entirely shot in interiors, giving a static, theatrical quality. Although Brando does not seem at ease in the role, it ranks alongside others by Rod Steiger, Charles Boyer and Herbert Lom as one of the most memorable portrayals of Napoleon.

Edward Dmytryk's *The Young Lions* (1958) was among the first films to cast a major Hollywood star in the role of a 'sympathetic Nazi'. The film was based on Irwin Shaw's novel which followed the adventures of three soldiers, two American and one German, from the years before the outbreak of war to the final collapse of the Third Reich. Brando plays Christian Diestl, an idealistic Nazi who gradually becomes disillusioned with the war. His story is

Montgomery Clift, Marlon Brando and Dean Martin relax on the set of *The Young Lions* (CBS/Fox)

interwoven with that of two Americans who meet at the draft board: Dean Martin plays actor Michael Whitacre, while Montgomery Clift plays Noah Ackerman, a Jew who is victimised by his anti-Semitic comrades-in-arms.

The plot follows Christian through the fall of France, the occupation of Paris, the North African campaign, and finally to Germany. His disillusionment begins when his commanding officer Lt. Hardenburg (Maximilian Schell) orders the execution of British prisoners after the ambush of a convoy in the desert.

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The process is completed in the final days, when Christian stumbles across a concentration camp. He is appalled when the commanding officer complains of the number of prisoners he has to kill, and the lack of resources at his disposal. Christian leaves the camp and deliberately breaks his sub-machine gun in disgust on a tree stump. It is at this point that he is destined to meet the two Americans, who have also witnessed the horrors of the camp. Inevitably, the film is a simplification of a lengthy novel, but in spite of a changed ending it is faithful to its spirit. This impressive film has curiously been rarely broadcast on television in recent years, and is a most welcome release on video.

In Bernard Wicki's World War Two thriller *The Saboteur — Code Name Morituri* (1955) Brando again plays a German. The plot concerns a German Capt. Holler (Yul Brynner), ordered to take a supply ship with a vital cargo of rubber from Japan to Germany in 1942. Brando plays Schroeder, an anti-Nazi who has been blackmailed by a British Secret Serviceman (Trevor Howard) into joining the ship while posing as an SS standard-bearer. His mission is to defuse demolition charges to prevent Holler scuttling the ship when intercepted by American naval vessels. The situation is complicated by the presence on board of Muller, who distrusts Nazis, a German-Jewish girl, and a number of political prisoners. The film is not well known, yet it features a well conceived plot and good performances from the star cast. Wicki, a German director whose previous work included the classic anti-war film *Die Brücke/The Bridge* (1959), effectively maintains the tension until an explosive climax.

Stephen J. Greenhill

FOR SALE — 'Modelworld', rare modellers' magazine, complete set 18 copies from Vol.1 No.1 to Vol.2 No.6; excellent reference; offers? 'Military Illustrated' Nos.1 — 11 incl. & No.14; as issued condition; offers? Please send offers with SAE to: D. Ransome, 43 Brookfield Avenue, Timperley, Altringham, Cheshire WA15 6TH.

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REVIEWS

'Brave Men's Blood: The Epic of the Zulu War, 1879' by Ian Knight; Greenhill Books; 200pp, 263 illustrations, 9 colour, 9 maps; biblio; index; £16.95

Several years ago one of the National Army Museum's staff remarked to this reviewer that the most popular subject for visitors to the Museum's Reading Room was, after Waterloo, the Zulu War. Waterloo is perhaps understandable, but why the relatively short, small and, for Britain, unimportant campaign in Zululand should exercise such fascination compared with, say, the contemporaneous Afghan War, which was altogether on a larger scale and with equally dramatic incidents, is unclear. Doubtless the film *Zulu* has popularised it, and of course publishers of military books prefer the predictable rewards from well-tried subjects rather than risking their investment in less familiar but more deserving topics. Whatever the reason, there has been a plethora of books and articles of varying quality on the Zulu War ever since Donald Morris' *The Washing of the Spears* resurrected it in 1966; and the publication of this new book must suggest there is no let-up in its popularity among both readers and publishers.

Ian Knight must be well known to readers for his enthusiasm for the subject and the Zulus in particular; it is therefore fitting that his first full-length book should tell the story once again. He claims it to be no more than 'a narrative military history for the general reader', though he has made use of much of the more thoughtful research done on the subject since the centenary in 1979. As might be expected he has taken great pains to look more closely at every aspect of the Zulu side of things, thereby adding a dimension which most of the earlier books lacked. It is good, too, that the operations of the flank columns and the second invasion receive their due share of attention and are not overshadowed by the well-known events of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift. Furthermore, any work of military history is always enhanced if the author can familiarise himself with the ground — not always possible. This Ian Knight has been able to do and with advantage, as seen in his lucid explanations of the various actions.

The quantity of illustrations will ensure that even less-assiduous readers will get their money's worth. Much credit is due to the author for amassing such a number from a wide variety of sources. The usual publisher's claim that 'most have never been published before' and that 'the few previously seen' have only appeared in specialist publications seems to be pitching it a bit high. Nevertheless the illustrations are useful and well-captioned, though it would have been helpful to have the artist's name in some instances. In some cases the quality of reproduction leaves something to be desired,

and three appear both in colour and monochrome: the colour tones of Fripp's Isandlwana and de Neuville's Rorke's Drift are almost as lurid as the events depicted. But by and large it is a handsome and well-produced volume.

There is a glossary of Zulu terms and a somewhat elementary Index with some omissions, for example: the 58th and 94th Regiments, both present at Ulundi, are not listed, nor, though mentioned in the text, are Commandant Lonsdale, the Empress Eugenie, or the Channel Islander, Trooper Le Tocq, who urged the Prince Imperial to hurry himself in French. Even if the two latter were indexed, they would be difficult to find in the text owing to the irritating omission of page numbers where obscured by illustrations, e.g. between pp. 157 and 164.

The author has decided against giving detailed source notes, which may inconvenience some readers, and instead of a conventional bibliography offers a useful review of Zulu War literature with comments on its respective merits.

Ian Knight's book will surely deserve an honourable mention in any similar, future review and he is to be congratulated on bringing to fruition a long-held ambition — even if he is guilty of lifting one sentence almost in its entirety from Donald Morris (p.185)! Whether this is the last word on the subject, given its peculiar popularity, remains to be seen. Doubtless there will always be those eager to discover what Pte. 99 Jones had for his last breakfast before Isandlwana, or the precise dimensions of Chard's biscuit boxes; but for the average Zulu War enthusiast, or those seeing *Zulu* for the first time, Ian Knight's book is deserving of their £16.95. He has not only explained the broader issues, but has striven to show what the fighting was really like for the men who did the work, whether they be British Regulars, Colonial volunteers, or 'the brave warriors of the Old Zulu Order'. **M J B**

'The Battle of Coral: Fire Support Bases Coral and Balmoral, May 1968' by Lex McAulay; Hutchinson, Australia; 45 black and white photographs, 10 maps; £12.95

Readers who know Lex McAulay's earlier work on Australians in Vietnam, *The Battle of Long Tan*, will find *Coral* as good and arguably a better read. The author, as a 23-year man in the Australian army with operational experience in Vietnam, knows what questions to ask when he interviews the survivors of these violent North Vietnamese attacks on 1st Australian Task Force. The result is a book which is a remarkable blend of a vigorous story well told, and what could become required reading at staff colleges and officer training schools. There are few books of

which this reviewer can say that he could not put it down.

In *The Battle of Coral* the author describes the errors in the helicopter lift that left elements of 1 ATF vulnerable to a savage NVA night assault. Gunners fired their 105mm howitzers loaded with flechette rounds at point blank range into NVA assaults, and the NVA mortar crews 'walked' bombs with a deadly accuracy across Australian positions. In the fighting at Balmoral Australian Centurion tanks helped repel NVA attacks and then supported patrols that entered heavily defended NVA bunker complexes.

Like any soldier Lex McAulay knows that even in the most exhilarating and frightening situations there can also be moments of slightly crazy humour. *Coral* is spiced with moments of dry Australian wit, like the hatless, shirtless Digger telling an immaculate and slightly bemused General Westmoreland what was wrong with the US-designed M60 machine gun when the Allied Commander in Vietnam visited the FSB.

One of the features which makes this rare among books on Vietnam is the way that the author tries to see the action from the enemy side; McAulay served in the Intelligence Corps and so had the opportunity to study the NVA and VC. He also records the Diggers' attitude to their enemy — confronted by the shattered corpses of Vietnamese men in their mid- and even early teens, they resented the politicians in Hanoi who had sent these men south, but felt pity for their youthful enemy.

EWWF

'The French Cavalry 1792-1815' by David Johnson; Belmont Publishing; 190pp; 20 illus., one map; £17.95

With this second and equally enjoyable volume David Johnson has followed his very successful 1978 work *Napoleon's Cavalry and its Leaders*. The book provides a detailed account of the development of the French cavalry arm from the stark, brutal and desperate days before the Revolution to the ill-disciplined period of the Revolutionary Wars, through the *élan* and *esprit* of the ensuing Napoleonic period culminating in the debacles of 1812 and Waterloo, to the despair and disbands of the early Restoration months.

The author's research has been prodigious. He has not only drawn extensively from the major French works on cavalry but also from at least 37 of the best regimental histories. The book abounds with captivating, often very amusing extracts from the diaries of both officers and men; and includes an abundance of information on training, horsemanship, remounts, weaponry, and low life in barracks and elsewhere. There are copious notes on each chapter, plus four Appendices which complement those provided with the earlier book, filling in gaps in the Orders of Battle, and in addition providing a list of pre-Revolutionary regimental titles linked to the post-1792 numbered system.

The book is a well written and researched study of a remarkable cavalry force and its flamboyant and sometimes bizarre leadership, drawing on a wealth of contemporary material which will be otherwise unavailable and largely unknown to the average reader. It makes an easy and exciting read and is highly recommended.

DSVF

'Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air' by David Kennedy & Derrick Riley; Batsford; 256pp; 188 illus. & maps; biblio; £29.95

This splendid book is essential for anyone interested in Roman or Byzantine military history, Roman architecture, and even for those interested in the origins of Islamic military architecture. The harder tourist would also find it well worth its weight. It is crammed full of information, though this can make the book heavy reading for the non-specialist. Then there are the aerial 'archive' photographs which are the work's *raison d'être*. In addition the book includes numerous excellent plans and some useful maps, not to mention a full bibliography and a glossary of terms.

Apart from producing a remarkably comprehensive catalogue of sites and facts, the authors have provided additional chapters to introduce and explain their subject as well as providing historical and cultural background. Each of the architectural 'typological' chapters, which deal with the various sizes, shapes and functions of Roman military architecture in this part of the Middle East, also has its explanatory introduction. Finally there are a conclusion and a 'call to action' in favour of more aerial archaeology along Rome's desert frontier — perhaps a pious hope in view of the tense and war-torn situation in some of the most important countries covered by this book.

The book is so good — and indeed unique in its field — that criticism seems a bit unfair. However, a few quibbles can be made. The index is very poor, given the volume of information crammed into this book, much of which is therefore difficult to find. The authors have also tended to skip over, or at least give inadequate attention to, recent theories about Rome's desert frontier and the purpose of the many sometimes splendidly preserved military sites in Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Palestine. This new interpretation denies the old idea that these forts formed two *limes* or lines of protection, and thus defence in depth, each linked by a parallel frontier road. Instead it points out that the concept of a fixed, clearly delineated frontier is a 20th century anathema in the desert, and goes on to suggest that the forts were basically there to police the road. These were, among other things, vital trade routes. This interpretation points out that the Arab nomads rarely if ever posed a threat to the Roman provinces, pointing out that

bedouin have never 'invaded' the Fertile Crescent in any serious sense. Even the Arab-Islamic conquest of the 7th century was undertaken by settled and urban Arabs with the bedouin providing little more than despised and mistrusted auxiliaries.

This leads to another possible criticism of an otherwise excellent book. The authors do mention the brilliant civilization of the first Arab-Islamic century and a half (the Umayyad period) when they note the Umayyads' restoration, re-use and enlargement of certain Roman frontier buildings. Unfortunately they make no reference to the most recent archaeological evidence which suggests that there was little if any 'decline', agricultural or otherwise, in what had been Romano-Byzantine Syria following the Muslim conquest — at least not until the Crusader and Mongol invasions.

To be fair, Kennedy and Riley are writing about the Roman frontier and Roman buildings. But given the continued re-use of many of these structures at least as late as the 13th century, more information on this aspect of the story would have been welcome. Nevertheless, this book is highly recommended. **D N**

'It Never Snows in September'
by Robert J. Kershaw; Crowood Press; 364pp; 153 b/w illus; 38

maps (8 col.), diagrams, etc.; £25.00

Sometimes a book is published which eclipses all the others that have attempted to cover the subject. Bernard Fall's *Hell in a Very Small Place* which chronicled the battle of Dien Bien Phu, was such a work. *It Never Snows in September*, which covers the German view of the fighting for Arnhem, will become another prime reference.

Robert Kershaw is uniquely qualified to write this account since he is both a serving officer in the Parachute Regiment and also speaks German. The book, with its wealth of interviews, excellent maps and previously unpublished photographs, is a labour of love rather than a commercial job put together to an agent's or publisher's brief. It was begun as a Staff College project, and grew into an incredibly detailed account of the fight for the Arnhem bridge in September 1944.

As a serving soldier Kershaw asks questions which would not normally occur to a historian — logistics, ammunition supply, communications and mobility are all as critical parts of a battle as the bravery and motivation of the soldiers engaged. However, he does ask the critical question *why* — did the Germans keep fighting in late 1944? — or the British paratroopers, when they

were trapped in the cauldron? He clearly struck up a good relationship with the German veterans he interviewed, for they answer his questions freely and describe their parts in the battle. He also faces the unpalatable side of war — cruelty and arbitrary killing — and discusses why some Germans (and some British) were guilty of excesses.

Anyone who has plodded through military histories, or after-action reports, knows that they can make pretty dry reading; *It Never Snows in September* captures an atmosphere in a way that many full-time career writers should admire. The price may seem a little high, but once the reader sees the wealth of information, research and maps he will understand that such quality does not come at discount prices.

The final paragraph of the book is a summation of why men are prepared to put their lives on the line for others. When a veteran of the battle was taking a group of young British officers around his area of operations they asked him why, when wounded, exhausted and low on ammunition, he had kept fighting. Looking at the crossroads he had defended, he replied 'Because they were my friends'.

EWWF

'The Worcestershire Yeomanry'
by R.J. Smith; published by
Army Museums Ogilby Trust,
distributed by Picton Publishing,
Chippenham, Wilts; £3.95

In 1982 I was privileged to write a review of No. 3 in this series, and concluded with the words 'One eagerly awaits the next . . . as it is obvious that this is to build into a most valuable and comprehensive work'. It is gratifying, therefore, to find how well the standard had been maintained, and improved, with the appearance of No. 11 in the series. The new thread-sewn binding and square back make it a pleasant book to handle; there are 39 b/w illustrations, all well reproduced, including a plate showing a variety of regimental badges, buttons, titles, etc.; and lastly, excellent coloured front and back covers. These display paintings of the types of dress worn from the beginnings in 1794 to the elegant hussar dress of 1897, and the khaki lancer dismounted review order of c.1905, the original paintings being the work of the well-known military artist R.J. Marion. All aspects of known dress between 1794 and 1914 are either described or illustrated. Included are examples from the works of Richard Dighton, who lived in Worcester for a time, and who painted individual portraits of all the officers in the uniforms of the 1830s. R.J. Smith is to be congratulated on the wealth of detailed material he has supplied.

So I will conclude, as I did in 1982: 'One eagerly looks forward to the next in the series . . .' — which is, I am told, to be The King's Own Royal Regiment (The Norfolk Yeomanry).

RGH

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Germany's De-Nazified Awards

GORDON WILLIAMSON

The rebirth of Germany's armed forces in 1956 led to the appearance of an interesting range of medals and other combat and service awards. The new *Bundeswehr* was faced with a problem unusual in the history of numismatics. Many officers and men who had fought for their country between 1939 and 1945, out of simple patriotism, had been awarded decorations for gallantry which by any reasonable judgement they were entitled to wear on their new uniforms; yet the design of these decorations often recalled the world's most hated regime. The solution has been the production of a series of modified versions of the wartime awards, of some interest to collectors.

In the period immediately following the collapse of the Third Reich the swastika was undoubtedly the most despised insignia in the

world. Most Germans, wishing only to forget the horrors of the Nazi period, were only too glad to discard any ephemera bearing the 'broken

cross', whose display was prohibited. Allied occupation authorities collected and destroyed vast numbers of uniforms, flags, badges, daggers and other items of Nazi regalia; and for many years thereafter surviving awards from that period tended to be hidden away and largely forgotten.

However, as the rehabilitated West German Federal Republic took its place alongside the Western Allies and, from 1956, started to rebuild its armed forces as part of NATO, it became obvious that many former Wehrmacht soldiers, sailors and airmen would return to the colours. Naturally, many would have been decorated for their previous military service. Careful screening ensured that only those without a blemish on their records would be admitted to the new *Bundeswehr*; this being so, it would have been hard to justify prohibiting the wear of awards for service and gallantry

simply on the grounds that they had been granted by the previous regime. Equally, there could be no question of wearing awards in their original form if they displayed the swastika.

The Federal Government therefore passed a law in July 1957 — the *Ordens-Gesetz* — under which certain orders and decorations instituted during the Third Reich could be worn once again provided that the offending swastika

A rare and interesting pair of portrait photographs. In November 1944, during the Kurland campaign, Hauptmann Karl-Heinz Schulz-Lepel was photographed wearing the Knight's Cross; the German Cross in Gold; the Army Honour Roll Clasp on the Iron Cross 2nd Class ribbon in his buttonhole; the Close Combat Clasp, Infantry Assault Badge, Iron Cross 1st Class and Wound Badge.

In March 1970, Oberstleutnant Schulz-Lepel wears the de-Nazified forms of all these decorations, plus the de-Nazi forms of the Iron Cross 2nd Class and the 1941/42 Eastern Front Medal displayed full size on ribbons. (Courtesy K-H. Schulz-Lepel)



The 1957 'neue Form' Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with Swords and Oakleaves.

was removed. For some awards this required only very minor modifications, hardly noticeable at first glance; for others it meant a complete redesign which totally altered the appearance.

Awards instituted by the Third Reich now fell into two main categories: those totally prohibited in any form, and those now permitted in 'de-Nazified' form. This second category may be considered as sub-divided into three classes: those which, having no swastika in the original design, required no alteration; those which required only minor alteration to remove the swastika; and those which required drastic alteration because of the prominence of Nazi imagery in the original design.

Prohibited awards

The following awards are still considered to be prohibited and cannot be worn even in a de-Nazified form:

- 1) All awards of the NSDAP
- 2) All awards of the Hitler-Jugend
- 3) The Mother Cross
- 4) All SS awards
- 5) All awards of the NSKK, NSFK, SA, etc.
- 6) Spanish Civil War awards
- 7) Medals for the occupation of Austria, the Sudetenland, and Memel
- 8) Volksplege awards
- 9) The German Eagle Order
- 10) Germanic Proficiency Runes
- 11) The Wound Badge of July 1944
- 12) All industrial awards (e.g. the Fritz Todt Prize, etc.)

Right:

An original Krim Shield in cheap bronze-yellow metal finish, on Luftwaffe blue-grey backing patch in this example.

Centre:

A post-war example of the Krim Shield, on field grey backing. Materials and manufacture are clearly superior to the original, but the large eagle and swastika are deleted leaving a blank space at the top.



13) The Grand Cross of the Iron Cross

As can be seen, the bulk of these are 'political' rather than military awards. Although some non-military awards were approved (e.g. Labour Service Long Service, Fire Brigades, etc) it is primarily in the field of purely military decorations that post-war de-Nazified forms may be encountered.

AUTHORISED AWARDS

Those awards originally instituted under the Third

Reich which are once again authorised for wear in modified form are as follows. (A considerable number of reference books exist, showing all types of original Third Reich awards; this article will therefore restrict itself to detailing the changes made in the new forms of design.)

Long Service Awards

These were given for completing a set length of service in the armed forces. The series was as follows:

- 4 Years' Service — silver medal



12 Years' Service — gilt medal

18 Years' Service — silver cross

25 Years' Service — gilt cross

40 Years' Service — as for 25 years but with gilt metal oakleaves clasp in the ribbon.

The new form of these awards loses the swastika held by the closed-wing eagle which was the central design of both the medal and the cross. All retain the cornflower blue suspension ribbon.

The Iron Cross and Knight's Cross

Germany's premier gallantry award sequence is altered in its new form by deletion of the swastika in the centre of the obverse, and the substitution of a sprig of oakleaves of almost identical design to that on the reverse of the 1870-1914 crosses.

The Grand Cross was never redesigned; since its sole holder was the late *Reichsmarschall* Hermann Goering, no replacement was required.

The Bar to the Iron Cross was totally redesigned. The original form of a large open-winged eagle and swastika over a bar dated '1939' was replaced by a new form similar to the 1914 Bar to the 1870 Cross; it features a new-style miniature Iron Cross over a bar dated '1939'. Both 1st and 2nd Class Bars are identical in design, and only the method



B

C



of attachment differs: the 2nd Class has two prongs by which it is affixed to the ribbon of the 1914 Iron Cross 2nd Class, and the 1st Class has a small brooch-type clip by which it is attached to the tunic pocket.

Roll of Honour Clasps

These were instituted to recognise the inclusion of the recipient's name on the Roll of Honour of his branch of the forces. They took the form of a small gilt brass clasp attached to the ribbon of the Iron Cross 2nd Class,

(A) During the war Günther Bar served with the Luftwaffe and achieved a distinguished record as a night fighter pilot. In this interesting portrait dated 1972 he is seen as a major in the West German Army's Heeresflieger branch, serving with the staff of 6.Panzer-Grenadier Division, whose left shoulder patch is just visible. He wears the 'new form' Knight's Cross at his throat; the modified German Cross in Gold on the right breast, below his pilot's wings; the de-Nazified version of the Front Flying Clasp above his left breast pocket, with the night fighters' winged arrow motif in the blackened centre; the full-size Iron Cross 1st Class and Pilot/Observer's Badge in modified form on his left pocket; and, unusually, the Luftwaffe Honour Roll Clasp pinned directly to his pocket flap rather than on a ribbon in the buttonhole. (Courtesy Günther Bar)

(B) The original form of the 1939 Knight's Cross with, right, the 1957 de-Nazified design.

(C) Ribbon bar showing typical use of miniatures and grey ribbons for some wartime awards: top to bottom, left to right: Knight's Cross with Oakleaves; Army Honour Roll Clasp, German Cross in Gold, Iron Cross 1st Class, Iron Cross 2nd Class; Close Combat Clasp, Silver Wound Badge, Infantry Assault Badge, Demjansk Shield; East Front Medal 1941/42, West German Sports Badge — successor to the earlier DRL Sports Badge. (Courtesy Martin Steglich)

A



The 'new form' East Front Medal. Only the large upright swastika upon which the eagle stood in the wartime original is lost; the reverse design, the ribbon colours, and the blackened centre of the medal are all retained.

worn in the tunic buttonhole. In the revised designs the Army Clasp, originally featuring a large swastika in the centre, now has this replaced by crossed swords. The Luftwaffe version loses the swastika from the talons of the flying eagle, and the naval version loses the swastika which was superimposed on the fouled anchor.

The German Cross

This large, impressive sunburst breast star was instituted in 1941 to recognise deeds warranting a higher award than the Iron Cross 1st Class, but not the award of the Knight's Cross. The original, with its large enamelled swastika centre, was obviously unacceptable; the new form shows, in the gold grade, a new-type Iron Cross in the centre, and in the silver grade a new-type War Merit Cross.

The War Merit Cross

This was instituted to reward deeds of distinguished service rather than gallantry. The original centre showing a wreathed swastika has been deleted and the swastika replaced by the date '1939', in effect the original central design from the reverse of the cross; the reverse now shows a blank centre within the wreath. All grades of this award have been manufactured in the new form with the exception of the Knight's

Cross of the War Merit Cross in Gold.

The East Front Medal

Instituted to recognise service on the Russian Front in winter 1941-42 and awarded to all servicemen who had completed various qualifying periods of service between November 1941 and April 1942, this 'Frozen Meat Order' has been only slightly modified. The new design loses the swastika from the talons of the eagle on the obverse, the laurel spray upon which the swastika was superimposed now being held in the talons.

Wound Badges

The 1939 pattern Wound Badge was issued in black for one or two wounds, in silver for three or four wounds, and in gilt for five or more wounds. It followed the design of the Imperial equivalent award very closely, with a swastika superimposed on a steel helmet (of M1935 rather than M1916 shape) set over crossed swords. The new form simply loses the swastika.

Campaign Shields

These devices, a type of campaign medal, took the form of a metal shield attached to a

cloth backing by prongs; the cloth backing was then stitched to the upper left arm of the tunic. A number of designs were instituted to recognise the recipient's participation in various battles or campaigns; and the alterations made to post-war forms are as follows:

Narvik Shield The upper section featuring a closed-wing eagle and swastika is deleted altogether.

Cholm Shield The central device of a closed-wing eagle clasping an Iron Cross in its talons remains almost unchanged, losing only the small swastika from the centre of the Iron Cross.

Krim and Kuban Shields These two very similar designs lose the open-winged eagle and swastika devices from the upper edges.

Demjansk Shield This originally featured in the top section a closed-wing eagle and swastika between two log blockhouses; the new form has lost the eagle but retains the blockhouses.

Army War Badges

These badges were intended to recognise the wearer's participation in a set number of combat actions as a member of a particular branch of service (there are few foreign equivalents, but the US Combat Infantry Badge performs roughly the same function). They ranged from Infantry and Panzer badges to Balloon Observers' and Snipers' badges. In almost every case these badges lose not only the swastika but the eagle also. One exception is the General Assault Badge, in which the eagle was the principle feature of the wreathed central design; the revised version retains it, losing only the swastika.

Naval War Badges

As with those of the Army, the Navy's War Badges lose both the eagle and the swastika, and have their outer wreath of oakleaves closed at the top to fill the resultant gap. One exception is the Blockade Runner's Badge; this originally featured a large eagle and swastika on the prow of a merchant ship as its central design, and the new version retains the eagle without the swastika.

Air Force War Badges

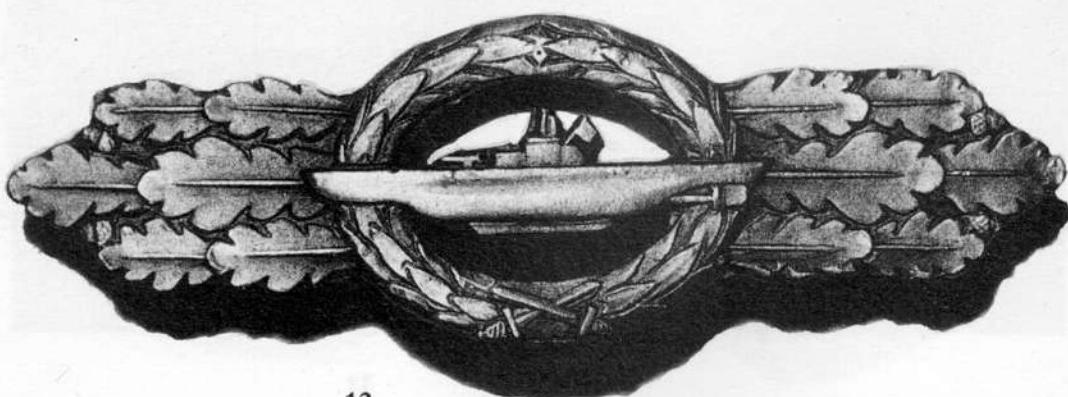
These designs, which all featured various distinctive forms of flying eagles as their major motif, are retained unchanged apart from the deletion of the swastika.

Front Flying Clasps

As almost all of these featured only a tiny swastika at the bottom edge of the laurel wreath enclosing the central motif, the revised forms are at first glance virtually identical to the originals.

The Anti-Partisan War Badge

This is a particularly interesting case. The award was instituted in January 1944 to recognise participation in anti-partisan warfare for various numbers of days. Although instituted by Himmler, the *Reichsführer-SS*, and although he reserved to himself the right to award its gold grade personally, it was awarded to personnel of all branches of the armed services (as well as to foreign volunteers) who took part in this often very brutal type of operation. In spite of its SS connection, however, this badge has been approved in its new form. It loses the sun-wheel swastika from the hilt of the central sword, and the death's-head from the centre of the base.



The U-boat Combat Clasp in Bronze, in its de-Nazified form. Beautifully struck and with an attractive bronze finish, it has lost the eagle and swastika from the top of the wreath.

Unchanged awards

A very limited number of awards did not feature the swastika anywhere in the design, and the post-war versions remain identical to the originals. These pieces are particularly valuable to collectors in that they are genuine in the sense of being official government-approved specimens, and thus infinitely preferable to modern 'fakes' of the originals. The principal unaltered designs are as follows:

- 1) Swords and Oakleaves to the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross
- 2) Oakleaves to the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross
- 3) Kreta cuffband
- 4) Afrika cuffband
- 5) Kurland cuffband
- 6) Metz 1944 cuffband
- 7) Driver's Service Badge
- 8) Tank Destruction Badge
- 9) Aircraft Destruction Badge
- 10) Naval Combat Clasp
- 11) Combat Badges of Small Battle Units (so-called Frogman's Clasps)
- 12) Ostvolker Awards

WEAR and MANUFACTURE

The so-called 'new form' awards, as well as being made in the full size as per the originals, are also available in a wider range of styles. A range of 16mm miniatures on ribbons are made (even where no ribbon was used with the original, e.g. the German Cross). In addition, 9mm lapel pins and 9mm miniatures for attaching to the ribbon bar are available. Lapel pin versions of even such awards as cuffbands are now produced, though almost unknown during the war.

The traditional German style of wearing the full-size decoration whenever possible, even on the combat uniform, is no longer followed, and it is therefore rare to see the full-size de-Nazified awards being worn. Generally the *Bundeswehr* has adopted the Anglo-American style of wearing only the ribbon bar; for awards which had no ribbon in the original form a new neutral grey ribbon has been introduced,

upon which miniatures of the metal award are worn as part of the ribbon bar. For full dress or other formal occasions complete miniature medals with miniature ribbons may be worn. Alternatively the 'Order Chain' upon which miniatures of the awards are suspended may be worn on the lapel of the mess jacket, dinner jacket, etc. In civilian clothing the 9mm lapel pins are normally worn.

The dress regulations of March 1968 (Chapter 4, para 4116) stated that from that date no arm shields, cuffbands, tank destruction badges, sniper's badges or driver's awards were to be worn in their full-size versions, i.e. no awards were henceforth to be worn on the sleeve. This implies that from 1957 to 1968 such awards were permitted to be so worn. The ribbon bar miniatures of cuffbands take the form of very small metal bars, e.g. the 'Afrika' title has that lettering picked out against a red background,

and is worn on a light brown ribbon edged white.

Manufacture

Before the facilities existed to manufacture these new-style awards many veterans solved the problem by 'de-Nazifying' the original badge themselves — the swastika was sometimes crudely snapped off or defaced with a chisel or file, sometimes neatly removed by a jeweller.

Close examination of very early post-war production pieces suggest that remaining stocks of materials (e.g. pins, hinges, etc.) were used, giving the finished article an appearance of equal quality and finish to the original. Recent pieces show the use of a common style of pin and hinge on all types of badge, however, the new style being much simpler and plainer.

The principal manufacturer of de-Nazified awards is the firm of Steinhauer und Lück of Lüdenschied, Germany. This was one of the premier medal-making companies under the Third Reich,

and one of the few authorised to manufacture the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross — a privilege granted to only a handful of top manufacturers. It was the toolmakers of Steinhauer und Lück who manufactured the original dies for the production of the Knight's Cross.

'New form' awards tend to be made from better quality materials than the wartime originals (e.g. brass is used rather than zinc); but less time is devoted to finishing and polishing — e.g. a 'new form' Iron Cross 1st Class will lack the matt silver oxide effect on the beaded rim which did so much to enhance the appearance of the highly polished edge. Uniform outfitters in Germany will generally only agree to supply 'new form' awards to customers who can establish their entitlement by production of a citation or pay book entry. [M]

Left:

Post-war version of the Anti-Partisan War Badge in Bronze. On the wartime version the disc below the sword hilt carries a circular 'sun-wheel' swastika, and the sword point disappears behind a skull at bottom centre of the wreath. It is assumed that the skull was deleted, along with the swastika, because of this award's associations with the SS.



Right:

The use of the ribbon bar to display wartime awards, here by Oberst Martin Steglich, whose bar is illustrated on the colour page. (Courtesy Martin Steglich)



'The Thin Red Line' by Robert Gibb, RSA (1845-1932).
This, the most famous representation of the event, was painted in 1881.
Although the details of uniforms are accurate, the artist has considerably
shortened the distance between the 93rd and the charging Russians. Gibb
specialised in large scale battle pictures, often with a Scottish theme; he also
painted episodes from the Alma and Inkermann. (By kind permission of
Guinness PLC)



The 93rd Highlanders at Balaklava: (2) 'The Thin Red Line', 25 October 1854

ALLAN CARSWELL

The first part of this article ('*MI*' No.30) described the arrival of the 93rd in the Crimean theatre of war; their privations due to inadequate medical and logistic provision; and, at length, the conditions of Army life in the 1850s. It was illustrated with photographs of the day, and of surviving uniform items. This concluding section describes in detail the 93rd's part in the action which was immortalised in the report by Russell of the *Times* — though he originally coined the phrase 'Thin Red Streak', rather than the later and more dignified 'Line'.

The 93rd were the only infantry battalion deployed around the town of Balaklava, which was then acting as the sole supply base for the British troops besieging Sebastopol. The main body of the regiment, under the command of Lt.Col. William Bernard Ainslie, was occupying the village of Kadikoi two miles inland from Balaklava. Pte. Donald Cameron describes it as being 'a nice place at this time with its vineyards and clean looking cottages'. Surgeon William Munro commandeered the local church and priest's house for use as separate hos-

pitals for the officers and men.

The other defences of Balaklava consisted of a line of earthworks on the landward side of the heights overlooking the port. These were defended by a battalion of Royal Marines and four batteries of artillery, also manned by Marines: these defences were known as the Marine Heights. A first line of defence further inland, across a broad valley, consisted of a chain of six newly constructed redoubts, manned by approximately 1,000 Turkish troops with nine 12-pdr. guns manned by

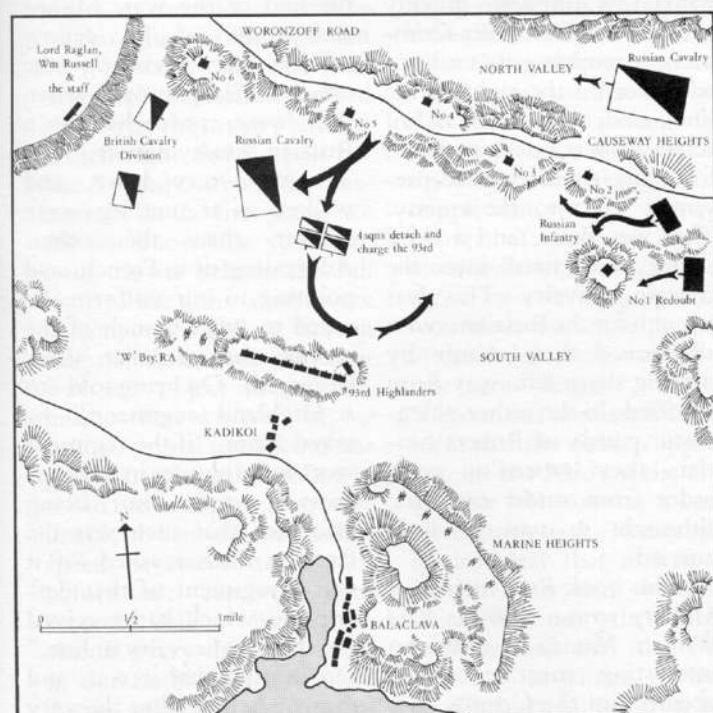
British gunners. In addition, Brig. Sir Colin Campbell, the veteran Scottish officer commanding Balaklava, had two batteries of horse and field artillery at his disposal. Close by was the camp of the ill-fated Cavalry Division, consisting of the much understrength Heavy and Light Brigades, under the separate command of Maj. Gen. Lord Lucan. The size of the garrison and its isolation from the main body of the army made Balaklava extremely vulnerable to attack. If the Russians could take Balaklava they would cut the besieging army off from its means of supply and probably force the lifting of the siege.

Since the beginning of October Russian troop movements had been reported closing on Balaklava. On the 7th and 8th Cosacks were sighted, and spies reported that a Russian attack was imminent: a report was received saying the blow was to fall on the 12th. As a diversion the townspeople of Balaklava were to set fire to the buildings being used as storehouses in the town. Maj. Alexander Leith Hay and 200 men of the 93rd were ordered to clear the town of all civilians except those in the employ of the army. The attack did not materialise.

On the 18th a large Russian column could be seen from the heights, moving well out of range of the British guns. The whole garrison stood to all day and for most of the night, but by the next morning the Russians had disappeared. They reappeared on the 20th, and Lord Raglan,

Lt.Gen. Sir Colin Campbell, GCB: a studio photograph taken early in 1856 by Roger Fenton, the famous recorder of the Crimean War. Campbell was one of the most able and experienced of the Army's senior officers in the Crimea, where he commanded the Highland Brigade and the garrison of Balaklava during the battle. (For a summary of Campbell's career and colour reconstructions of his uniforms see '*MI*' No.2, p. 50.)

the British commander-in-chief, sent reinforcements rushing down from before Sebastopol. The Russians again withdrew, and the extra British troops returned exhausted to the siege trenches. On the 24th Campbell again received intelligence that a large force (25 battalions of infantry and 34 squadrons of cavalry totalling some 24,000 men and 78 guns) was advancing on him⁽¹⁾. Believing the information to be accurate Campbell immediately sent a despatch informing Raglan of the situation, and prepared his small force for the coming onslaught.



THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE

For Pte. Donald Cameron the day began as many others had. His and another company had been detached from the regiment and positioned on the heights above Balaklava, where they had a commanding view of the broad valley below. Every morning they were stood to at day-break, and when all was safe they were dismissed to their breakfast. Cameron writes in his diary: 'On the morning of the 25th October, we turned out as usual to parade when the officers with their spying glasses made out some Russian cannon at the back of Number One Redoubt covered with bushes (one of the Turkish manned redoubts). We were dismissed with orders to dress. I got dressed and a fire kindled and my canteen on for my coffee, and beef beside me when we were ordered to fall in'. As Cameron's company fell in the Russian guns opened fire on the Turkish position.

From the heights Cameron and his comrades watched as two massive columns of Russian infantry appeared in the distance and began assaulting No. 1 Redoubt. The Marine gunners opened fire from the heights only to watch their rounds fall short. The Turks, hopelessly outnumbered and cut off from any support, fought desperately but were inevitably overrun. The defenders of the other redoubts began to waver. Those in No. 2 put up some resistance and then retreated; those in Nos. 3 and 4 fled without firing a shot. Cameron's company was ordered quickly to rejoin the rest of the 93rd, now formed up in two ranks on a rise of ground to the north of Kadikoi. They were ordered to bring all their reserve of ammunition with them.

Colin Campbell and his small force of around 550 men of the 93rd, 100 or so invalids and men from different regiments who happened to be in Balaklava, plus the remainder of the Turks, were the only defence the town

now had. Out of sight of the 93rd a large force of Russian cavalry with artillery support was advancing behind the high ground lately abandoned by the Turks. Pte. Robert Sinclair remembered Campbell ordering the concealing of all the ammunition and supplies in a dry ditch in the rear of the 93rd position in case the enemy should occupy the ground.

The first Russian squadrons now came into view over the ridge and their accompanying guns began shelling the 93rd. While the British guns on the Marine Heights and the two Royal Artillery batteries replied, Campbell immediately ordered his men to move back onto the rear slope of the hill and lie down to minimize their casualties. The bombardment proved too much for the remaining Turks, who began to break ranks and fled headlong for the imagined safety of the ships in the harbour. As they ran through the 93rd's camp at Kadikoi one of the Highlander's wives set about them with a broom in disgust.

It was now clear that four squadrons of Russian cavalry had separated from the main force and were advancing directly on the 93rd. Pte. Robert Sinclair describes them thus: 'Their squadrons occupied four times as much ground as all our heavy dragoons, and were literally enough to swallow us up'. The gunners of W Battery, Royal Artillery, positioned to the left of the 93rd, had used up almost all their ammunition and now prepared to spike their guns. Campbell ordered his troops back up onto the crest of the hill. According to Sinclair, Campbell shouted to those men near him: 'Highlanders, here we must live or die, not one inch shall we retire from this spot. Open your fire on them and be steady'. There was no escape now for the men of the 93rd. The Russians continued to advance. 'Now is the time to try our courage and steadiness with a mass of cavalry coming on us, but there we stood like a rock determined

to stand or fall together' was how Donald Cameron described the realisation of what was coming.

CAVALRY AGAINST VOLLEY FIRE

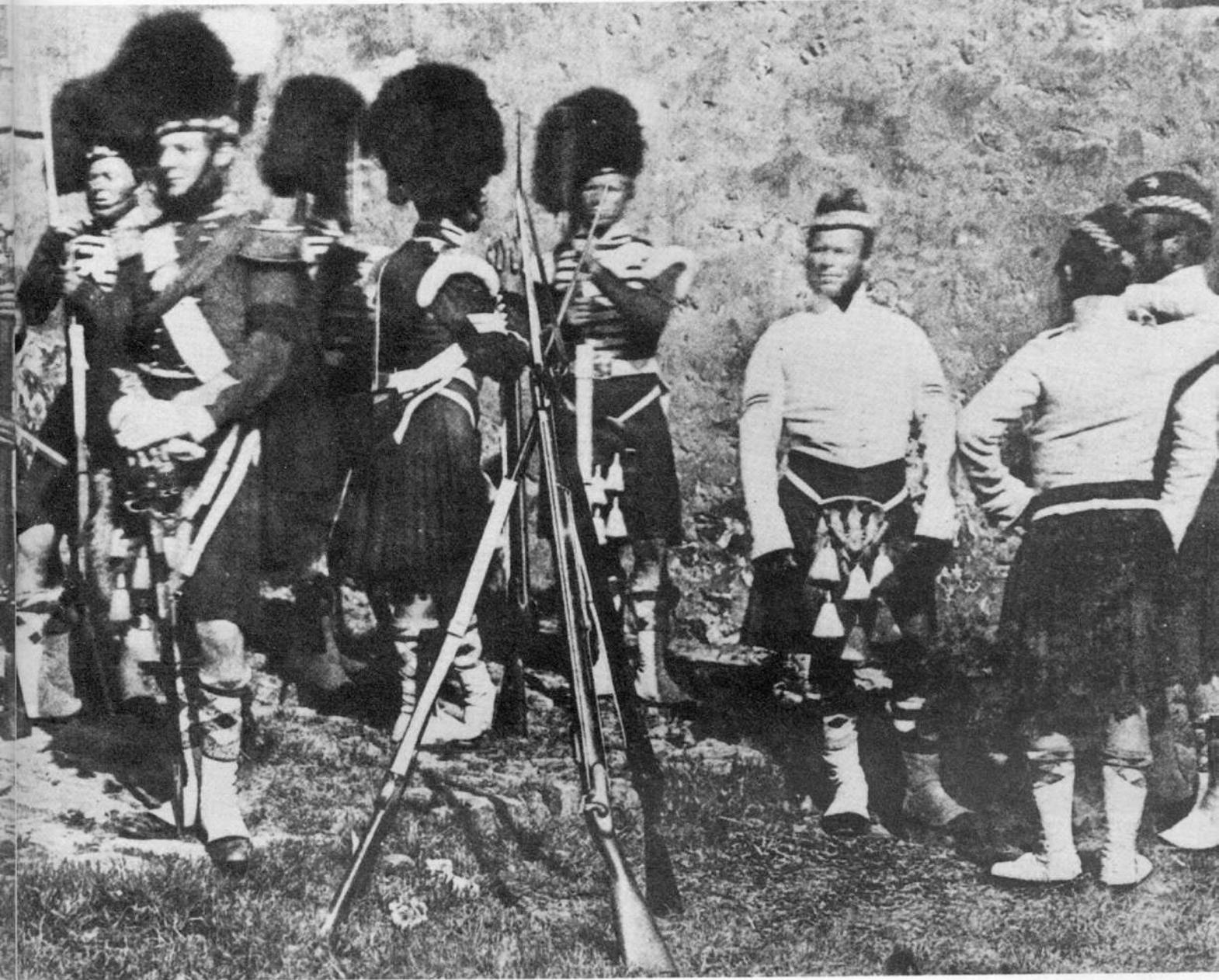
According to Pte. George Greig the front rank of the 93rd fired its first volley at 800 yards (accounts vary on this figure). Donald Cameron described the effect: 'Being in the front rank, and giving a look along the line, it seemed like a wall of fire in front of the muzzles of our rifles'. This first volley failed to halt the oncoming cavalry and so, with the calm precision of the drill field, another was fired. As the smoke from the 93rd's muzzles cleared, the Russians could be seen to be hesitating, albeit slightly, and beginning to change their course to their left. The 93rd sensed their opponents' discomfort and a cheer began to rise up from the ranks. According to Surgeon Munro, who was standing in the line with his regiment, the Highlanders began to make as if to charge the Russians with their bayonets. Campbell sharply rebuked his men — 'Come, come, 93rd, none of that; damn all such eagerness'. The regiment steadied itself as the Russians' move to their left became more obvious.

In order to prevent the 93rd's line from being outflanked Campbell quickly ordered the Grenadier Company (occupying its traditional place on the right of the line), under the command of Capt. Robert Lockhart Ross, to incline themselves to present a front to the enemy. This was done, and a third volley was fired into the charging cavalry. This was enough for the Russians, who abandoned their charge by turning sharp left away from the 93rd. In the rather phlegmatic words of Robert Sinclair, they 'retired in good order from under our fire; although it was a little hurried'.

In his book *Reminiscences of Military service with the 93rd* William Munro describes an interesting meeting which occurred in the Crimea after



the end of the war. Munro and some of his fellow officers were visiting the town of Simpheropol when they were approached by a Russian cavalry officer: 'He was very lame, and walked as if one leg were shorter than the other. Addressing us in French, and pointing to our uniform, he asked to what branch of the service that peculiar dress belonged.' On being told 'to a Highland regiment,' he asked again, 'if the regiment wore lofty plumes in its head-dress,' and on being informed that such was the fact, he further asked 'if it was a regiment of that description which had received the charge of cavalry in line.' On hearing that it was, and that we belonged to the very



regiment, he told us "that he was an officer of the regiment of hussars which had charged." In turn we asked him "why the cavalry had not ridden right down upon the line." "Impossible," he answered. "In the first place, we did not know that you were lying down behind the hill close to the guns which were keeping up a galling fire on our columns, and which it was our object to capture, until, when we were at the gallop, you started from the ground and fired a volley at us. In the next place, we were unable to rein up, or slacken speed, or swerve to our left before we received your second volley, by which almost every man and horse in our ranks was wounded. Again, when we were inclin-

ing to our left to wheel, as we thought, a wing of your regiment changed front, and fired a volley into our flank, which also took effect amongst us, one of your bullets breaking my thigh and making me the cripple that you see. But you know, of course, that a mounted man, though severely, or even mortally wounded, can retain his seat in the saddle long enough to ride out of danger."

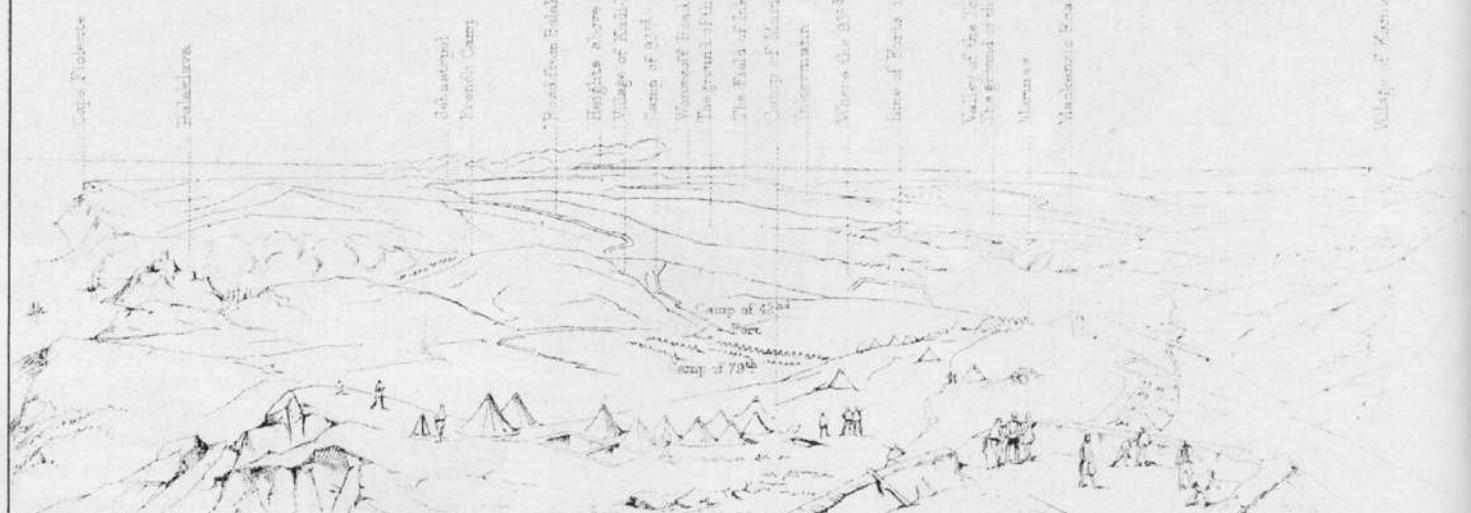
From this account it would seem that the sudden appearance of the 93rd on the crest of their hill came as a complete shock to the Russians. It is also clear that it was the British guns that were the objective, not the Highlanders, and that the Russians' casualties were significantly higher than had

first been supposed, either by those present at the charge or by those counting the small number of empty saddles seen among the retreating cavalry.

In all the different eye-witness accounts of the incident there is no agreement on the range of the first volley. According to Pte. Greig the Russians were 800 yards away when Campbell ordered the 93rd to open fire, and at 200 yards for the second volley. William Russell, correspondent of the *Times* and the man responsible for coining the phrase 'a Thin Red Streak tipped with a line of steel' (later to become 'The Thin Red Line'), says the Turkish troops fired a volley at 800 yards, then fled while the 93rd fired theirs at

A group of officers and other ranks of the 93rd photographed at Scutari in 1854 prior to the invasion of the Crimea. Examples of both full and undress uniforms are shown: see Part 1 of this article, 'MU' No.30 p.37. Note the ten-button white drill jacket worn in undress only by other ranks of Foot Guard and Highland regiments; the chevrons should be red, and appear to be mounted on a backing slightly darker than the white of the sleeve. Note also the Glengarry bonnet discussed in Part 1; the officer's shell jacket and forage cap at far left; and the 93rd's new 1851 Milie rifles piled in the foreground.

600 yards, with the second one at 250 yards. Russell witnessed the charge from the heights to the west where Lord Raglan and his staff were positioned; this would have given him a good overall view of the charge and may have made the judging



'View from the Heights above Balaklava looking towards Sebastopol': Plate 32 from Simpson's Views of the Crimea published in 1855. The lithograph shows Balaklava harbour at far left; the village of Kadikoi in the centre just below the sharp zig-zag in the road; and the camp of the 93rd just below and right of the village.

of distances easier than for those on the ground. Pte. William Laird claims no shot was fired until the Russians were 175 yards away. Maj. Alexander Leith Hay, in an account written to his mother two days after the charge, claims the Russians were only 40 yards away when the 93rd opened fire⁽²⁾. Surgeon Munro is rather vague, and says that Campbell ordered the first volley when the enemy were within 'Minie range'. This remark may give us something of a clue as to how the 93rd managed to fend off such a potentially fatal charge.

The Minié rifle

In the early 1850s the standard firearm of the British

Infantry was the 1842 Pattern smoothbore percussion musket, a well-made but rather inefficient arm, with a maximum effective range of less than 200 yards. Around this time, experiments were carried out to find an effective replacement in the form of an efficient rifled musket that could be issued to the Line regiments; these tests resulted in the adoption of the French Delvigne-Minié system which utilised a conical expanding bullet. The 1851 Pattern Minié rifle, as it was termed, was put into production, with the first major issues to regiments in around 1853. The 1851 Minié was a vast improvement on all that had gone before: being rifled, it had a much higher degree of accuracy and a greatly increased range, its elevating backsight being sighted to 1000 yards.

When war was declared in 1854 the majority of the army was still using the 1842 Pattern musket. Those regi-

ments that were ordered East were, when stocks allowed, given a partial issue of new Minié rifles; thus the 93rd received 250, with which they began practising while on Malta. In May 1854 the regiment received the rest of its rifles while at Scutari prior to the invasion of the Crimea; in a contemporary photograph taken at Scutari the pristine Miniés can be clearly seen, neatly piled. The 93rd were fortunate: in November 1854 seventeen British battalions in the Crimea were still equipped with the 1842 smoothbore.

If Campbell ordered the 93rd to open fire when the Russians were 'within Minié range' then, in theory, they could have been anything up to 1000 yards away. At this range the accuracy of even the new rifle was doubtful, so Campbell may have waited until they were a bit closer. It is recorded that, under test conditions, 77 out of 100 rounds fired from a Minié hit

a target 8ft.square over a range of 800 yards, so Russell's estimate of 600 yards and Pte. Greig's of 800 yards both sound entirely feasible⁽³⁾. Also, as Greig would either have had to set his own rear sight or estimate the angle of incline for him to hit his target, he would have needed to calculate the range himself or have been told it by his officer or NCO, so his figure stands a good chance of being accurate. While accepting that experiments in accuracy were not carried out under battle conditions, it does seem likely that of all the rounds fired in the first volley a fair proportion would have found their target, and consequently had an effect on the advancing cavalry. However, they continued their charge. If the second volley was fired at 200 yards (Greig) or 250 yards (Russell) then the effects would have been terrible. This is confirmed in the Russian officer's account. The third volley, fired by the

Grenadier Company, must have been at approximately the same or even shorter range.

If the 93rd had been one of the battalions still armed with the 1842 musket then the situation could have been very different. They would have had to wait until the Russians were within 200 yards before having any chance of hitting them. So, given the speed of the charge and the time necessary to reload (not to mention the much inferior accuracy of a smoothbore musket), it would seem likely that only a single volley could have been fired, which would probably not have halted the charge. In that case, their only alternative to being overrun would have been to form square; this would have considerably reduced the available firepower of the regiment, who could thus have been easily bypassed by the Russian cavalry.

The 93rd's performance that day was acclaimed by an Army and public which had yet to come to terms with the advances of technology, advances which would appear to have had much to do with the successful result. As a regiment of infantry, the 93rd's steadiness was admirable; but perhaps, given the range at which they could engage their enemy, and the size of their target, the outcome was not as miraculous as some would have us believe.

Unanswered questions

Despite numerous published and unpublished accounts of the action, there remains confusion on a number of points. Firstly, in how many ranks were the 93rd formed up? Some accounts say two, others three or four. Sir Colin Campbell clearly states that the regiment was in two ranks. This figure would have had a considerable effect on the frontage of the regiment, making it anything from between approximately 300 to 150 men wide; this in turn would have decided the volume of fire available to the regiment at any one time. Secondly, did the 93rd fire their volleys at once, or by

companies, or by ranks? This, again, is not clear. According to the 1834 edition of the *Manual and Platoon Exercise*, cavalry were to be received in ranks four deep, whether in a square or not. The front two ranks would be kneeling with their bayonets held 'about the height of a horse's nose', while the rear two ranks would fire. After the rear ranks had re-loaded the kneeling ranks would then open fire if required.

To confuse things further, the account of an unnamed officer of the 93rd, referred to in Brackenbury's *Campaign in the Crimea* p. 40, states that the regiment 'kept up a murderous file fire for about eight minutes'. In 'file firing' individual files of a battalion in line (two men deep) fired in succession, giving a rolling effect along the line. This would have been done by company, and could have begun at any selected point in the line. If this is what happened then it may explain some of the variation in the estimates of the initial range of the enemy, as different companies would begin firing at different times.

File firing, according to the *Regulations for Field Exercises and Evolutions of the Army*, was never to be hurried. Each man had to wait until the man in front had fired, while the front rank man had to wait until the file before had finished. Given that approximately 600 men were in the line that day, eight minutes would only have been long enough (if they were file firing as a battalion) for one round per man to be fired. As the other accounts talk of at least two rounds being fired, then the battalion would have to be file firing by companies or wings (half the battalion, i.e. right and left wing) or from the centre of the line. If the figure of eight minutes is an accurate one, it would indicate that the advancing enemy must have been a considerable distance away when the 93rd opened fire.

In all accounts the greatest discrepancies relate to the range of the initial volley. Why does Maj. Leith Hay, an



Campaign medal for the Crimean War, with three clasps for the Alma, Balaklava and Sebastopol, awarded to Pte. John Crichton of the 93rd Highlanders, who was present with his regiment at the battle of Balaklava.

the nation's consciousness, evoking an ideal of extreme heroism pitched against overwhelming odds. There had, of course, been similar episodes before; the 'last stand' and 'forlorn hope' had always had a place in the Army's history. But what was it that marked out the charges of the Light and Heavy Brigades and the 'Thin Red Line' for such enduring fame?

When Britain declared war on Russia in 1854, it was on a tide of patriotic and martial fervour rarely seen before in Britain. The long period of relative peace in Europe since 1815 had certainly distanced the public's imagination from the horrors of war (never a very vivid view at the best of times). The Army's last experience of European war, at Waterloo, had been turned into an event of almost sacred deliverance, causing the public's expectations of their Army's performance to be extremely high. However, this was not the main reason for the cheering crowds and avid enthusiasm for the war and all things military. The Crimean campaign was to be a war that would show to the world the power, prestige and virtue of mid-Victorian Britain. To the growing middle classes and their newspapers, the war, and those whose task it was to pursue it, became inseparable from their vision of the Britain they themselves had done so much to create. The Army was seen as the state incarnate.

Definite answers to these and many more questions about what exactly happened that day will probably never be found.

* * *

The events around the obscure Crimean town of Balaklava, that day in October 1854, have been absorbed into the mythology of the British Army. They have also soaked through into



The camp area of the 93rd at Kadiukoi, in a photograph taken some time after the severe winter of 1854-55 when the British troops endured appalling hardships. As the weather improved prefabricated wooden huts arrived from Britain to replace the canvas bell-tents. The white, domed building at left centre is the village church requisitioned the previous year by Surgeon Munro as a regimental hospital. (From Gen. Ewart's album; by kind permission of Sir Hector Munro, MP).

seemed the best hope for a national redemption, no matter how small. Florence Nightingale, the Victoria Cross and Balaklava helmets would all play their part in the scramble to salvage national pride.

Military incompetence and official indifference on the Crimean scale were not new. What had changed was that a large and powerful section of the population now identified itself with, and had vested interest in, the successful execution of the nation's policies. If the Army was to play a part in this, then it had to do so to the satisfaction of those whose hopes and ambitions it was representing. The Army had been changing in many ways prior to the Crimea, but its poor performance under the newspaper-led scrutiny of a critical public forced the pace of reform to such an extent that the years 1854 to 1856 have come to be seen as a watershed in its history.

For Scotland 'The Thin Red Line' offered vivid proof of the nation's place, both within Britain and in a wider world. Who else but stoical Scottish Highlanders could have stood firm against the Muscovite hordes while all else was in disarray? The Highland soldier's place in the Victorian imagination was assured. In Scotland, he not only provided a focal point for a long displaced sense of national identity but also gave to a confused people a feeling of happy assimilation within the United Kingdom. With his peculiarity of dress and language and his assumed character, the Highlander had an irresistible appeal to the mid-19th century love of the romantic and picturesque. The Highland regiments provided a model for the loyal, courageous and noble subject that would become such a talisman for the British Empire. Tragically, the situation of the actual people of the Highlands was somewhat different.

The Highland regiments, among them the 93rd, were the unique products of a society where feudal clan lords could raise whole regiments from among their own tenants. As first the post-Culloden policies of the government, and then cold economics, changed the Highland chiefs' view of themselves from owners of

men to owners of land; and the nature of the Highlands changed for ever. The greatest financial returns were to be got from the use of the land alone, and the people came to be regarded as an impediment to progress to be got rid of as quickly and cheaply as possible. The wholesale eviction of communities and their replacement with vast sheep farms went on throughout the first half of the 19th century and left much of the Highlands a bitter and empty desert.

When Britain went to war with Russia in 1854 an uninformed government again turned to the Highlands for recruits and asked the great lords to raise new battalions from among their people. The ageing Duke of Sutherland readily agreed, and sent his factors to work to produce a second battalion for the 93rd. They met with no success. The duke decided to travel north from his London home to make a personal appeal to his declining people. He stood outside the inn in Golspie with four clerks and a table of money, and told the people of the tyranny of the Russian Czar. Any man who joined the 93rd would get a bounty of £6 from the pocket of the duke. He was met with a grim silence. Then one man stood up and spoke: 'I am sorry for the response your Grace's

proposals are meeting here, but there is a cause for it. It is the opinion of this county that should the Czar of Russia take possession of Dunrobin Castle and Stafford House next term that we couldn't expect worse treatment at his hands than we have experienced at the hand of your family for the last fifty years'.

'We have no country to fight for. You robbed us of our country and gave it to the sheep. Therefore, since you preferred sheep to men, let sheep defend you.' (Reply to an appeal made by the factor and ministers of Sutherland for recruits for the Crimea⁽⁴⁾.)

Notes and Sources

- (1). *The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde*, Vol I, Lt. Gen. Shadwell, CB, Edinburgh 1881, p. 332.
- (2). Scottish Record Office, GD 225/Box 42/packet, A. Leith Hay to his mother, 27 October 1854.
- (3). *From Waterloo to Balaklava, Tactics, Technology and the British Army 1815-54*, Hew Strachan, Cambridge 1985, p.41.
- (4). *The Highland Clearances*, John Prebble, London 1963, p.321.

The diaries and reminiscences of Privates William Nairn, George Greig, Robert Sinclair and Donald Cameron (transcribed by Mr Thomas Moles) are all in the archives of the Regimental Museum of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the curator and staff of the museum in making these important documents available to me.

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'The Road to Waterloo'

JULIAN HUMPHRYS

On 7 December the National Army Museum's new permanent exhibition devoted to the British Army during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars opens in its entirety. Entitled 'The Road to Waterloo: The British Army and the Struggle against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France 1793-1815', the exhibition will bring together items from one of the world's finest collections of uniforms; a large number of personal relics; and Siborne's restored model of the field of Waterloo, measuring over 400 square feet and containing over 70,000 model figures, which was completed after years of research in 1838 but which has not been displayed for nearly 30 years. The exhibition also features ten specially commissioned life-size reconstructions of British soldiers of the period, made by Gerry Embleton's 'Time Machine' (see 'MI' No.23).

The subjects have been chosen to illustrate the human side of the soldier's life, including aspects not usually illustrated in paintings, prints, and collections. Costume, although as accurate as possible, represents what was actually worn on campaign rather than newly-issued regulation dress. To emphasise the individual humanity of the soldiers some figures will be given the names of known historical characters, matched as closely as research allows to the appearance of the reconstruction. Before the figures were delivered Gerry and I took four of them out into the countryside around 'Time Machine's' workshops at Onnens in Switzerland, to pose the photographs shown here. Some of these do justice to the startlingly lifelike effect of the figures.

The figures themselves were made by Gerry, Guillaume Feval and Christine Payot. During the research phase of the project Gerry and his staff combed every known source for reference of uniforms and other details of appearance — Lawson, Goddard & Booth, Hamilton Smith, Carman, the Fostens, the Reynolds MSS and Dighton's paintings, backfiles of the JSAHR for decades, dress

regulations, inspection returns, diaries, letters and memoirs. Many of the limited number of surviving items were studied closely, both in the NAM reserve collection and elsewhere.

The costumes were finally made by Gerry, Ghislaine Montandon, and Keith Bartlett's 68th Durham Light

Infantry group. Items such as buttons and belt and cartridge box plates were recast or carefully copied from originals by William Hutt of Debdenham, Suffolk; lace and sashes were woven by the Wyedean Weaving Co. of Haworth, Yorkshire; and the NAM supplied original weapons. The groundwork for the displays was fashioned by Victor Shreeve, from contemporary accounts and with the advice of Dr. Peter Sabine, former chief geologist at the British Geological Survey, London.

The figures illustrated are as follows, in order of the key numbers on the colour pages;

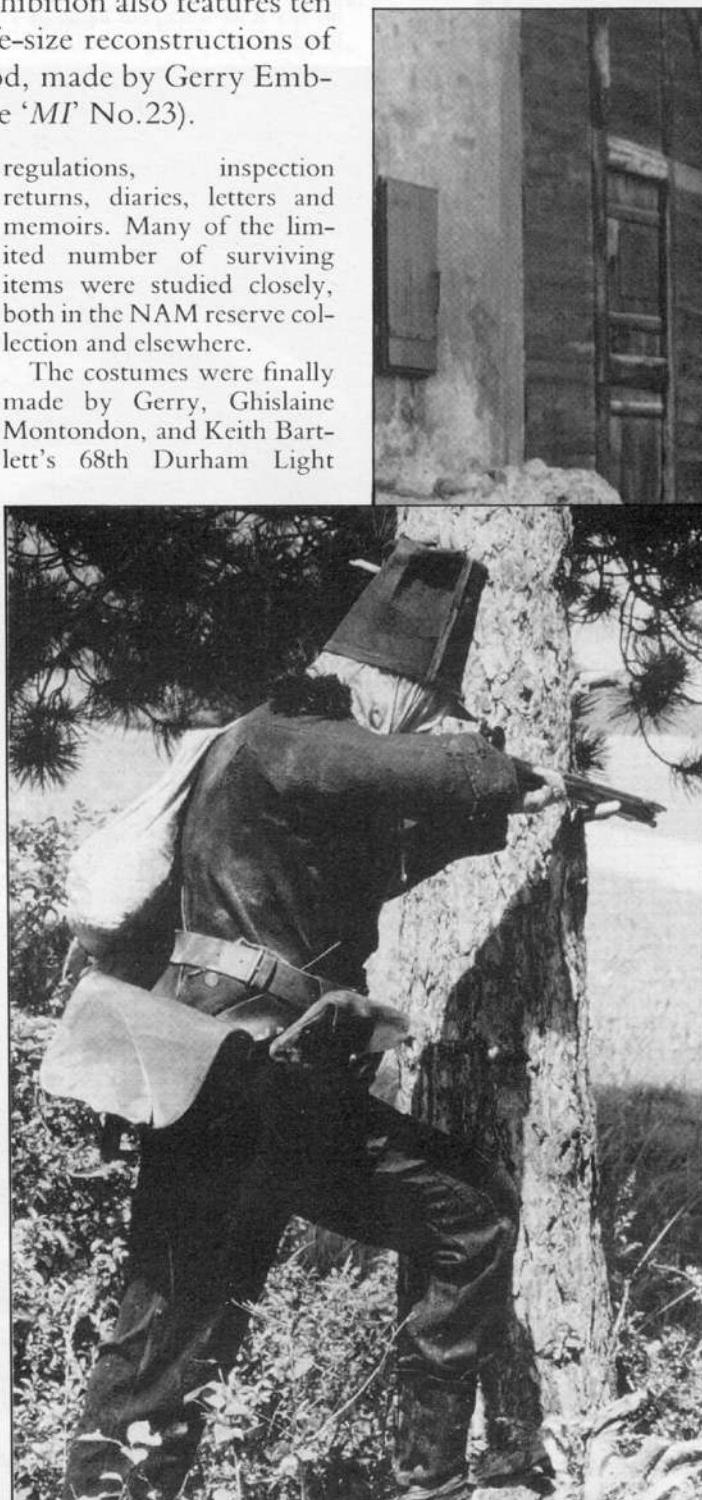
reproduction is by courtesy of the National Army Museum:

(Fig.1)

Rifleman, 95th Regiment; Spain, 1809. See also our front cover.

The rifleman takes aim from behind a tree overlooking a track. His Baker rifle, with which a marksman can put 24 consecutive shots into a man-sized target at 200 yards, gives him a decisive advantage over French skirmishers armed with smoothbore muskets.

There are many eyewitness accounts of the delapidation of the Peninsula Field Army's uniforms on campaign; though his dark green jacket and trousers are worn and patched, the colours of green uniform and black facings weathered until almost indistinguishable, and the black leather equipment scarred and incomplete, he is far from an



Above:

The Hanoverian officer of King's German Legion heavy cavalry, photographed as if off-duty outside a Spanish bodega. (Time Machine AG)

Left:

Rifleman of the 95th; while this photograph was being set up an unwary civilian hiker got the shock of his life. (Time Machine AG)

extreme example. Officers and men alike made frequent use of brown local cloth for replacement garments; all ranks sometimes found themselves virtually barefoot; and Lt. George Simmons of the 1/95th described the battalion in 1812 as 'a moving rag-fair'.

The exact shape of the 1801 felt 'stovepipe' shako is not constant in contemporary illustrations and surviving examples; some are tapered, as here, some straight-sided, and all became distorted with use. One example studied measured 7in. high at the front, 6in. at the back, 7½in. across the top, with a 2½in. deep peak. This cap has the regiment's white metal buglehorn badge, and the green cockade (in place of white, according to an 1800 inspection return) awarded to marksmen who put four out of six shots into the target. The green tuft and festooned cords have long since been lost to wear and tear; the chin-tapes are tied over the crown, and a rag is worn around the face and neck. (Photos: Time Machine AG, Julian Humphrys)

(Figs. 2 & 3)
**Officer, 2nd (Heavy) Dragoons,
King's German Legion; Spain,
1812.**

Typical of the campaign appearance of junior officers of horse and foot alike. Many accounts describe the ruin of officers' splendid 'regiments' after a few weeks' hard lying, and the practical, if motley expedients adopted. Locally made-up

clothing was common, like the rough beige drab greatcoat worn over his gold-laced, black-faced scarlet jacket by this Hanoverian officer. Civilian items were often worn; corpses and captured baggage were enthusiastically looted (though normally by an officer's soldier-servant); and there is even a record of British officers in the Pyrenees *buying* trousers from their French opponents!

While rough and practical, this officer's outfit is far from disreputable: the regulation bicorne is covered with oilskin against the rain, and the ubiquitous leather-reinforced overalls are worn over, or in place of, the white breeches and high boots. Officers on campaign supplied themselves with such necessities as the tinned canteen, here covered with old coat-cloth; and a tarred haversack like those of their soldiers, here bearing a painted badge taken from one of a number of differing German sources. The crimson sash was often the only mark of officer's status visible at any distance.

Umbrellas were quite widely carried for protection against both sun and rain; indeed, the tendency of some Foot Guards officers to carry them in battle irritated Wellington into one of his most famous rebukes: 'Lord Wellington does not approve of the use of umbrellas during the enemy's firing, and will not allow the "gentlemen's sons" to make them-

The field equipment worn by the unfortunate soldier of the 13th Foot in the West Indies. (Time Machine AG)

selves ridiculous in the eyes of the army.'

Apart from the fact that it was unavoidable, this latitude in dress was tolerated without a second thought — within normal limits of dignity — among Regency gentlemen. When in the field it would not be considered any business of a military superior to question what his social equals chose to wear for the working day. (Photos: Time Machine AG, Julian Humphrys)

(Fig.4)

Recruiting Sergeant, 68th Regiment; England, 1808.

Since there was no 'press' for the army, shortage of manpower was a major factor in British military thinking throughout the period. The life of a Line infantryman was unattractive to most, apart from the desperately hungry, the fugitive, or the unwary drunk — a farm labourer could usually earn twice the redcoat's shilling a day. The Line also had to compete with the more attractive conditions of the Militia, which

served only in the British Isles. So recruiting parties — usually consisting of an officer, two sergeants, a drummer, and from two to five men, picked for their stalwart appearance, neatly uniformed, and bedecked with ribbons and 'favours' — were a common sight in the towns and villages of Britain. To the tuck of drum and squeal of fife they paid for oceans of free beer, clinked purses, and promised riches, glory and glamour to the staring yokels.

The 68th (Durham) Regiment returned from the West Indies very understrength in 1806; in 1808 it was converted to Light Infantry status, and later fought at Walcheren and in the Peninsula. This handsome, smartly uniformed NCO sings the praises of his regiment to anyone who will listen, ever mindful of the 15s.6d. the rankers of the recruiting party will share for each enlistment.

As a sergeant he wears a jacket of brighter scarlet cloth than the duller red worn by common soldiers, and his lace is all white; but he wears a bunch of regimental-pattern lace like

ribbons on his shako — a detail shown in Walker's *Costume of Yorkshire, 1814*, and other prints. As Light Infantry the 68th wore tufted shoulder 'wings' throughout, rather than only in the battalion's two 'flank' companies. Regulation white breeches and black knee-length gaiters complete this home service uniform, set off by a sergeant's sash of crimson worsted with a centrestripe in the 68th's green facing colour. For this special duty he swaggers around with his jacket partly unbuttoned over a fine frilled shirt, carrying white gloves and a silver-tipped cane.

Once again, the vexed question of the 'stovepipe' or Light Infantry shako led to much discussion. The basic question has always been, was the cap worn by Light Infantry different from the 1801 felt cap worn until c.1812 by other regiments? Gleig, who served in Spain with the 85th, described the Light Infantry shako as 'distinct from the stovepipe infantry cap, being slightly lower and smaller at the top' — which pre-



sumably means tapered, as in this photograph. However, at a late stage of the work it was decided to replace this reconstruction with a straight-sided example based on surviving originals, to reflect the variety seen in contemporary illustrations and among surviving caps. (Photo: Time Machine AG)

(Fig. 5)

Private, 13th Regiment; San Domingo, Caribbean, 1795.

This poor devil is feeling the first symptoms of 'yellow jack', and unless he is extraordinarily lucky he will very shortly become a melancholy statistic. Between 1793 and 1815 Britain lost about 70,000 Europeans dead in the West Indies, of whom less than a tenth fell in battle. Yellow fever, malaria, and rum killed Europeans like flies; a posting to the West Indies was thought tantamount to a death sentence, leading to mutinies, outright lying to embarking troops, and the collapse of morale. One Lt. Howard wrote of Haiti in 1796: 'Some regiments, seeing the Mortality around them, gave themselves totally up for lost, and instead of attempting to stop the progress of the Disease did everything in their power to promote it in order to be the sooner out of their misery.' (It was not only in the pestilential Caribbean that disease carried soldiers off much faster than enemy shot: in 1811, the year of 'bloody Albuhera', the British army lost some 23,000 men in all — of whom only about 3,000 fell in battle.)

The 13th (1st Somersetshire) Regiment of Foot left Cork for Barbados in 1790. By August 1795 on San Domingo they had some 60 men left fit for duty — surviving officers and NCOs were returned to England and the men dispersed to other units.

Some attempt was at least made to adapt the uniform to extremes of climate. Warrants and inspection returns describe this outfit: a 'round hat' with a narrow lace band, and the usual tuft and cockade — some of these hats were made in white fabric; a plain, single-breasted red jacket with regimental yellow facings at cuff, collar and shoulder strap; and light, close-fitting, single-piece 'mosquito trousers'. He still has to carry the standard field equipment, however: the crossbelts for cartridge box and bayonet, a haversack for rations, a heavy wooden water canteen, and a canvas knapsack of the folding 'envelope' type. (Photo: Time Machine AG)

(Fig. 6)

Private, Light Company, 3rd Foot Guards; Waterloo, 1815.

This figure was photographed while it was still being worked on in *Time Machine's* studios. Late research satisfied the team that the unit had in fact worn white trousers in June 1815, so the standard grey type were later changed. Points to note include the 1812 'Belgic' shako in its oilskin foul-weather cover. It is reconstructed from originals, but their exact measurements vary; an average is a height of 6½in. at the back, 5¾in. at

the sides, 6in. at the front, 8½in. to the top of the false front, with a 2¾in. deep peak.

The figure is named after Pte. Matthew Clay, about whom we know a good deal. A later portrait survives (in the Guards Museum), and we know that he had blue/grey eyes, a high complexion, and fair brown hair. We also know in some detail how he spent 18 June 1815: that he fought in the hedges and yards of Hougoumont after a soaking night in a clover field, and after falling into a flooded ditch up to his neck. We even know that his musket kept misfiring due to the rain-soaked wood of the stock jamming the spring.

The figure will depict Clay at a late stage in the battle, realistically covered with the filth of bad-weather campaigning and black-powder fighting. (Photo: Time Machine AG)

Other figures, which we hope to illustrate in future issues of '*MI*', will include:

Private, De Roll's (Swiss) Regiment, 1801. Clad in the white drill jacket, he is marching on the spot being instructed in the flat-footed 'goose-step'.



Above:

The recruiting sergeant of the 68th, Durham Light Infantry, appealing to the patriotism, thirst, and gullibility of his audience. (Time Machine AG)

Left:

The Time Machine process, involving casting faces and hands from life, creates an extraordinarily lifelike impression. (Julian Humphrys)

Three members of a soldier's family on campaign in the Peninsula, to illustrate the camp followers: an Irish casualty's wife carries him piggyback at the tail of the marching column, while their child carries his kit.

A Canadian Militiaman in winter clothing during the War of 1812.

Sgt. Ewart of the 2nd (Royal North British) Dragoons at Waterloo.

And finally, a crippled ex-soldier of the 27th (Inniskilling) Regiment, begging for his bread.

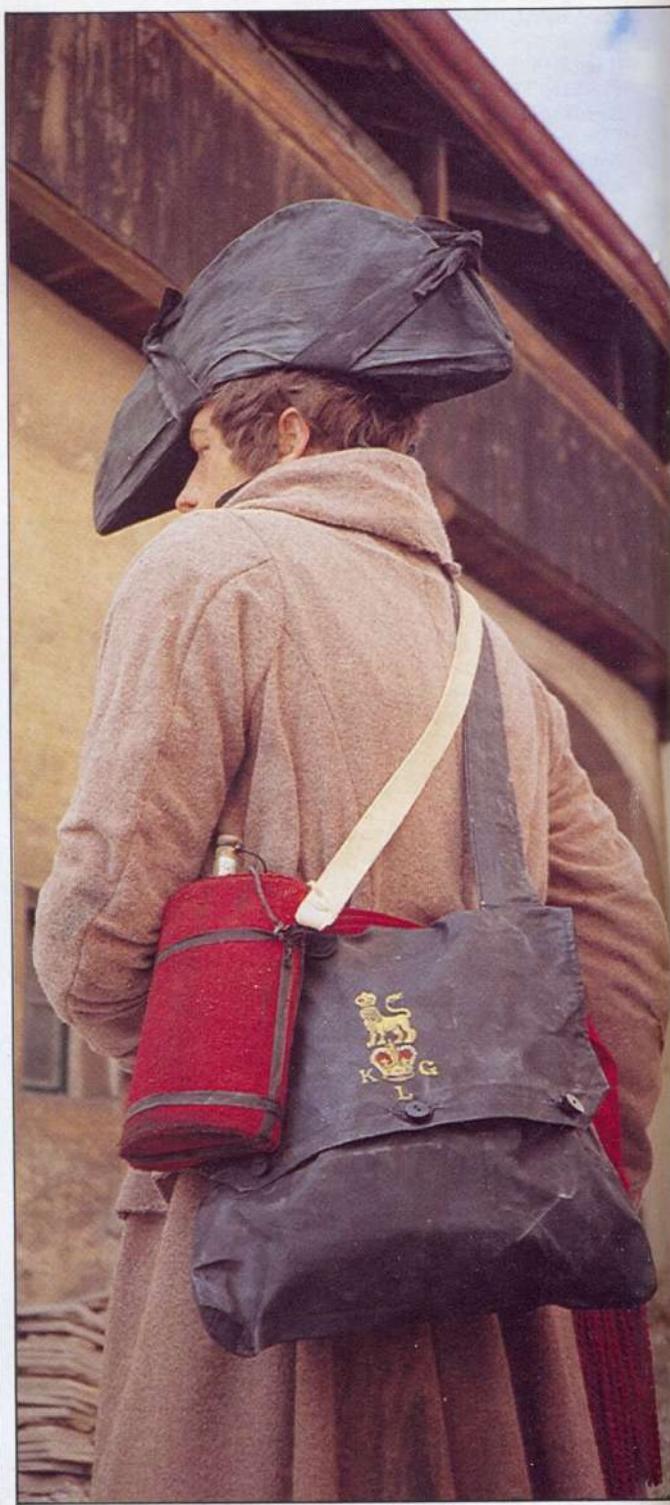
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The National Army Museum is in Royal Hospital Road, Chelsea, London SW3; the nearest Underground station is Sloane Square. The museum is open, admission free, from 10 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. Monday-Saturday, and 2 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. on Sunday.



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MILITARY MODELING

THE ROAD TO WATERLOO

National Army
Museum's new exhibition



British Armour Colours
for the Gulf

MODEL A HUNGARIAN MP



**BATTLES FOR
WARGAMERS
– FISHGUARD
24 AIRMOBILE
BRIGADE**

**HASTINGS 1990
– The Re-enactment**

DIAMOND JUBILEE
MODEL ENGINEER &
MODELLING EXHIBITION
DEC 29 - JAN 6



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The National Army Museum's new Permanent Exhibition upon the British army during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars opens to the public on 7th December 1990. Admission is free.

Items from one of the world's finest collection of military uniform are on display as well as medals, weapons, paintings and prints. A large number of unusual personal relics include Sir Thomas Picton's hat, the skeleton of Napoleon's horse and the saw used to amputate the leg of the Earl of Uxbridge after Waterloo.

The centrepiece of the Exhibition is Captain Siborne's remarkable model of the Battle of Waterloo. Completed in 1838, it represents Siborne's version of the climax of the Battle. Having undertaken an eight-month survey of the battlefield, Siborne sent a circular letter to as many surviving British Waterloo officers as possible, asking for information about the activities of their units during the Battle. He used the results of this survey in constructing his model which measures over 400 square feet and features over 70,000 figures, each approximately 7mm high. The model, which has not been on display for nearly 30 years, has now been restored, initially by members of the British Model Soldier Society, and then by Bees Modelmakers of Sunbury on Thames. The original colours of the model are now visible and thus provide a unique insight into the nature of the battlefield of Waterloo and into the tactics and formations of the time.

The Exhibition also features 10 specially commissioned, life-sized reconstructions of British soldiers of the period. The figures were constructed by Gerry Embleton's "Time Machine". Embleton, a well-known military artist, set up his company in 1988 at Onnens, near Yverdon in Switzerland. He had previously been senior member of the team which created 12 military scenes for Lenzburg castle in Switzerland.

What makes the Time Machine figures so interesting is that they are not "coat hangers" for original pieces of uniform and equipment. Instead they are an attempt to show what soldiers may actually have looked like in particular situations. The figures illustrate items which have not survived and show the appearance in use of original costumes too rare or fragile to be displayed in this way. For example, had the National Army Museum possessed a complete Foot Guards uniform of 1815, it would not have been possible to cover it with mud to show the state in which the soldiers actually fought. However, this is possible with the Embleton figures which thus help to interpret the genuine items on display.

The figures are also extremely realistic. Faces and hands are cast from life and painted with acrylics and oils, then finished in situ so that shadows can be deepened and colour adjusted to suit the lighting and atmosphere. Most of the uniforms and equipment are reproduction items, the buttons for example having been cast from originals in the Museum's collection.

Before the figures were delivered to the UK, Gerry Embleton and I took some of them into the area around Time Machine's workshops at Onnens to produce these startlingly lifelike photographs.

Private of the 13th Foot St. Domingo 1795

He wears a round hat and close-fitting one-piece "mosquito" trousers. Round hats were worn in hot climates by all types of infantry. Like many of his comrades, he suffers from the effects of yellow fever. By August 1795 the 13th only had 60 men fit for duty. The surviving officers and NCOs were sent back to England while the men were drafted to other regiments.

Between 1793 and 1815 the British army lost 70,000 Europeans dead in the West Indies, of whom less than a tenth died in battle. The rest died of sickness in the unhealthy climate. Casualties like these added up to a desperate drain on British resources and had a damaging effect upon morale and recruitment. Some regiments mutinied when faced with the pros-

THE ROAD TO WATERLOO

Julian Humphrys of the National Army

Museum describes the exciting new exhibition currently being staged on the British army and its struggle against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France

1793-1815



Private Matthew Clay bites his cartridge. Photo: Time Machine AG. All photos reproduced by permission of the Director, National Army Museum.

pect of service in the West Indies, and in 1797 an embarkation officer was ordered to tell the 87th Regiment that it was bound for the Cape of Good Hope and not the Caribbean in order to get it on board ship whole.

Sickness bedevilled other British military operations. Losses through fever (a form of malaria) on the 1809 Walcheren Expedition were so severe that the campaign had to be abandoned; 4,000 men died - less than 100 through enemy action - and the health of thousands more was ruined.

Officer, 2nd Dragoons King's German Legion, 1812

At Garcia Hernandez, on the day after the Battle of Salamanca, the two heavy dragoon regiments of the King's German Legion provided one of the rare examples of cavalry



breaking well-formed infantry in square. During a charge upon a square of the French 6th Light Infantry a wounded horse fell against a side of the square, knocking men over and causing a gap through which the horsemen could ride. Within minutes the square had been destroyed. A second square, shaken by these events, broke before another charge and was also routed.

This officer of the 2nd Dragoons, King's German Legion in Spain, 1812, wears a locally purchased greatcoat over his scarlet jacket and a waterproof cover over his bicorne. His breeches and long boots have been replaced by more practical overalls. He carries an umbrella for shelter from both sun and rain. The tendency of some guards officers to carry umbrellas when under fire irritated Wellington who informed them, "Lord Wellington does not approve of the use of umbrellas during the enemy's firing, and will not allow the 'gentlemen's sons' to make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the army."

However, Grattan of the 88th Regiment wrote of Wellington, "Provided we brought our



Top, a sick soldier of the 13th Foot attired in "top hat" and mosquito trousers. Middle left, close up of the 95th Rifleman who was posed in a wooded setting for this picture. Middle centre, the 68th Foot Recruiting Sergeant (see this month's cover) in close up. Photos: Time Machine AG. Middle right, Officer of the 2nd King's German Legion Dragoons... complete with umbrella! Photo: Julian Humphrys. Above, the village of Plancenoit - a detail from Siborne's model of the Battle of Waterloo. Photo: Ian Jones.



The 95th Rifleman posed in a wooded setting is extremely realistic. Photo: Time Machine AG.

men into the field well-appointed, and with 50 rounds of good ammunition each, he never looked to see whether their trousers were black, blue or grey... we might be rigged out in all the colours of the rainbow if we fancied... scarcely two officers were dressed alike! Some with braided coats, others with brown, some again liked blue; while many from choice, or perhaps necessity, stuck to the old red rag". Captured items were often worn and in the Pyrenees, British Officers actually purchased trousers from their French opponents.

Rifleman, 95th Regiment Spain 1809

Two rifle regiments were formed by the British during the Napoleonic Wars. The first battalion to be armed with rifles was the 5th Battalion of the 60th (Royal American) Foot. It was raised in 1798, its ranks composed of foreigners, especially Germans. In 1800 an "Experimental Corps of Riflemen" was formed from detachments from various British regiments and in 1802 it was brought into the line as the 95th Regiment. Three battalions were eventually raised. Both rifle regiments fought with distinction throughout the Peninsular War.

The rifle used by the 60th and 95th was the pattern submitted by Ezekiel Baker, a London gunmaker. In tests, Baker himself fired the weapon at a man-sized target at 100 and 200 yards with 34 and 24 shots respectively and hit the target every time. The accuracy of the Baker rifle enabled the British skirmishers to out-shoot their French counterparts who were equipped with smoothbore muskets. The riflemen were able to pick off enemy officers and NCOs and thus disorganise their opponents. At Cacabelos, during the retreat to Corunna, Rifleman Plunkett singled out and shot the French General Colbert, while at Waterloo Kincaid's men silenced two French guns before they could fire a second shot.

Both rifle regiments were dressed in dark green. This rifleman's uniform and equipment have begun to deteriorate. His jacket and trousers have been patched, his cartridge box bears a sabre cut, his rifle lacks its sling and his

shoes are falling apart. Nevertheless he remains a professional soldier and takes careful aim to make sure of his victim. When skirmishing the British fought in pairs wherever possible, so that one man would always have a loaded weapon. The patched and ragged appearance of the 95th was noted by many contemporaries. Lieutenant Simmonds described himself thus; "My jacket is brown instead of green. Never was seen such a motley group of fellows... I am a perfect guerrilla, having broken my sword, lost my sash, and am as ragged as a sweep..."

Recruiting Sergeant 68th Regiment, 1808

The 68th (Durham Regiment) spent the early years of the 19th century in the West Indies, suffering heavily from disease. It returned home in 1805, severely under-strength and, reinforced by drafts from the Militia, was converted to a light infantry regiment in 1808. The Regiment then served at Walcheren, and in the Peninsular war from 1811.

This smartly dressed Recruiting Sergeant sings the praises of his new light infantry regiment to anyone who will listen, mindful of the fact that the recruiting party will receive 15s. 6d. for each man they enlist. He wears a ribbon in the regimental colours pinned to his shako and, as a sergeant, wears a jacket of brighter cloth than that worn by his men, with plain white lace. (See this month's cover).

The fact remains that, conditions in the ranks were so dreadful that in most cases only "the very worst members of society" - the impoverished, desperate or drunk - could be persuaded to join. There was little to tempt a man to enlist. The shilling a day pay of the line infantryman was about half that earned by a farm labourer, and few could have regarded the prospect of service in the fever-ridden Caribbean with any relish. To encourage enlistment a "bounty" was offered to the potential recruit, a fixed sum which varied according to the Government's need for men and whether the soldier enlisted for life. Many soldiers enlisted under the influence of alcohol bought by the recruiting party. Wellington claimed that "English soldiers

are fellows who have enlisted for drink - that is the plain fact - they have all enlisted for drink."

This system of recruiting never kept up with the drain of casualties suffered by the Regular army. A major reason for this shortfall was the fact that Britain also maintained an army at home, the Militia, whose men could be compelled to serve, but could not be sent out of the British Isles.

Eventually the Government was forced to accept that the Regular army could not be supplied with men without recourse to drafts from the Militia. After 1805 periods were set aside when the Regular army was allowed to call for volunteers from the Militia, and considerable pressure could be put upon the militiamen to volunteer. Morris of the 73rd recalled,

"The militia would be drawn up in line, and the officers for the regiments requiring volunteers would give a glowing description of their several corps, describing the victories they had gained, and the honours they had acquired, and conclude by offering the bounty. If these inducements were not effectual in getting men, coercive measures were adopted: the militia colonel would put on heavy and long drills and field exercises, which were so tedious and oppressive that many men would embrace the alternative, and volunteer for the regulars."

Private Matthew Clay 3rd Foot Guards, Waterloo 1815

Matthew Clay's battalion fought at Quatre Bras on 16th June and retreated to the Waterloo position the following day. They halted in a field of clover near Hougoumont and that evening, in pouring rain, were ordered to pitch their blankets to form primitive tents. No sooner had this been done than the Battalion was ordered to move to another position, this time along the hedges of the Hougoumont orchard. By the time Clay had managed to stow his sodden blanket into his knapsack he had been left behind. Blundering after his comrades, he fell into a ditch full of muddy water.

When the battle began Clay had not eaten for 36 hours and ironically his part in the great battle began with the defence of the farm's vegetable garden! He then spent some time skirmishing by a large haystack, used by his unit as a rallying point, before falling back into the courtyard of the farm. Clay's account gives us some idea of the intricacies of the firearms of the period. His musket kept misfiring, for its wood had swollen in the rain and kept jamming the spring of the firelock. At one stage he stood, silhouetted against a wall and, even though a number of French skirmishers fired at him at extremely close range, none of their shots hit their intended victim.

Entering the courtyard, Clay was sent to the attic of the chateau where he and his comrades directed an annoying fire from its windows upon the French below. Eventually, the French succeeded in setting fire to the chateau and the flames spread upstairs. Clay and his comrades made a dash for the staircase, but an officer stood at the door and made them remain at their posts until the floor was about to collapse. They just managed to escape before the roof fell in.

Clay is shown liberally covered in mud, with an oilskin cover over his shako, biting the end off a paper cartridge containing powder and ball. Visitors to the Exhibition will see that Clay wears white overalls. A note in the Regimental Order Book for 1815 states that while the First Regiment were to wear grey trousers, the Second and Third Regiments were to retain their white overalls. Dighton's painting of the defence of Hougoumont also shows the Guards with white overalls.

"The Road to Waterloo" can be seen at the National Army Museum, Royal Hospital Road, Chelsea, London SW3 4HT. The nearest Tube Station is Sloane Square and bus 239 (Monday to Saturday) stops immediately outside the Museum. Admission to the Exhibition and to the rest of the Museum remain free of charge.

'Dracula' and his Contemporaries: 15th Century Balkan War Leaders (2)

Dr. DAVID NICOLLE

Paintings by ANGUS McBRIDE

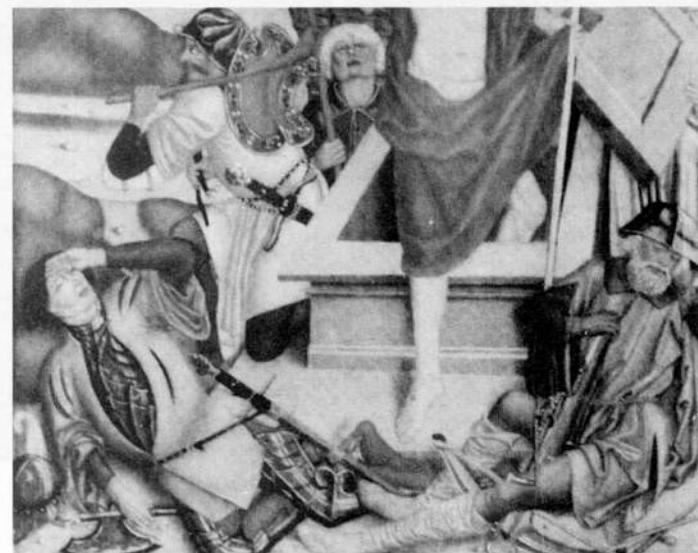
The first part of this article ('*MP*' No.30) described the career and illustrated the probable appearance of Vlad IV Tepes, 'the Impaler', Prince of Wallachia in the third quarter of the 15th century. This concluding part describes briefly his two great regional contemporaries; and, in more detail, the composition and appearance of Balkan armies of these endless wars.

STEFAN CEL MARE OF MOLDAVIA

While Vlad IV Tepes was fighting his own savage wars against the Turks and his fellow Christians, others were struggling to preserve their independence elsewhere in what is now Romania. To the north of Wallachia, in Moldavia, a similarly desperate struggle was taking place; but here the leading actor was a man of very different character. Prince Stefan III, known as 'cel Mare' or 'the Great', was a deeply religious patron of the arts as well as being an effective military leader and tireless diplomat. The origins of his principality are as shadowy as those of Wallachia.

Moldavia itself consisted of a mountainous heartland, the north-eastern Carpathians, and a broad plain leading down to a great river, the Prut. But if Wallachia's Danubian lowlands were open to invaders, Moldavia's eastern foothills were even more exposed, for they faced the vast Ukrainian plain and

the endless steppes beyond. As the Mongol 'Golden Horde' had declined in the 14th century, so Vlachs, ancestors of the modern Romanians, spread down from the mountains as far as the Dnestr River. The first Moldavian principality, like Wallachia, had been under Hungarian domination; but this was soon thrown off, and Hungarian military influence



was consequently less while that of Poles, Lithuanians, Russians and various Turco-Mongol nomadic peoples was equally important.

In 1453 the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul (Constantinople), capital of the

Byzantine Empire and seat of the Orthodox Patriarchate, had been a terrible blow to the Christians of the Balkans and Russia. Coupled with the fall of Byzantine Trabzon, it was also disastrous for Moldavian trade. Now sur-



Above:

A little-known painted altar in the Lutheran church at Medias, Romania, depicts a wealth of costume, armour and weaponry. Although the composition reflects that of widely distributed German engravings, it was probably painted in the late 15th century by an artist with first-hand knowledge of the Balkans. The soldiers in this Resurrection panel display essentially the same armour as seen in Germany or elsewhere in the West, but their costume is slightly different and may reflect Transylvanian fashion.

was also disastrous for Moldavian trade. Now surrounded by predatory foes, the principality fought Ottoman Turks, Tartars, Poles, Lithuanians and Hungarians, eventually being forced to pay tribute to the Ottomans in 1456. A year later Stefan III became *hospodar* or prince, and refused further tribute; but after a series of fierce campaigns even Stefan had to kneel. Meanwhile he married his daughter to the son of the Muscovite Grand Prince Ivan, thus sealing an alliance against the rambling Polish-Lithuanian realm on his northern frontier. What his daughter felt about this is unrecorded; though a combined Moldavian-Muscovite army did rout a Polish-Lithuanian force in the Kozmin forest in 1497. These bloody but rarely recorded struggles availed the peoples of Romania little; Moldavia, like Wallachia, eventually fell under Ottoman control. For the next 300 years it retained its autonomy while paying the Turks a hefty tribute in food-stuffs, money and armed men.

Moldavian armies

The armies of 15th century Moldavia were organised along similar lines to those of Wallachia. Some permanent forces first appeared in the late 14th or early 15th century, as they did in Wallachia; but these were still organised like the earlier *dorobanti* feudal formations and temporary levies under local *boyars* or noblemen. Meanwhile references appear to foreign mercenaries and new kinds of militia. Any permanent units formed part of the *Oastea* or 'Little Army' whose name, stemming from the Western term 'host', almost certainly reflected Hungarian influence. In Moldavia the *Oastea* included *curteni*, 'courtiers', who formed the prince's private army; and *slujitori*, retainers or followers of the *boyar* aristocracy.

The noblemen, as provincial governors or *voivodes*, also raised a general levy of all free men. This was not, of course, a permanent force and formed the *Oastea cea*

Captions to Angus McBride's colour reconstructions overleaf:

(A) Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, the Banats and Transylvania (r.1458-90). Here Matthias is shown in European armour of probable Italian manufacture, though made in a somewhat Germanic style for the export market. The king does not wear the full set, and his shoulder and chest defences are hidden beneath a voluminous shirt. Such fashions, though known in western Europe, are more commonly shown in the splendidly illustrated Corvinus Graduale manuscript, and may reflect a general preference for light cavalry tactics in Hungary. Otherwise the only distinctively eastern feature of the king's equipment is his curved sabre with its 'rolled' quillons. We suggest a heavy gold collar chain supporting on the chest the insignia of the Order of the Dragon, but no full size examples of the insignia and no authoritative reference to the design of the collar appear to have survived.

(B) Stefan III cel Mare, Prince of Moldavia (r.1457-1504). The best portrait appears on the wall of his monastery at Voronets in the Carpathians, where he is shown in court costume of Russo-Byzantine style. In our reconstruction Stefan has been given the equipment of a light cavalryman of the *viteji*. In Moldavia and Wallachia such elite troops included a few armoured men, though most were lightly equipped, as here. They were typical of both the Balkans and Hungary, being among the forebears of the later Hungarian hussar. The king's dress is comparable to that seen in western Europe but with local differences, including long false sleeves knotted behind his back. Under his hat Stefan wears a cloth-covered mail coif with a small iron skull similar to both the Islamic missyurka and the later European *secete*; under his jacket is a scale-lined brigandine. The bamboo spearhaft is remarkably Middle Eastern and may indicate further Turkish influence; while his trapezoid shield is of a type which would become characteristic of both the Hungarian hussar and the Ottoman light cavalry deli. The coat of arms on the shield is that of Moldavia, although the presence of the crescent and star could suggest that

it dates from the period after 1492 when Stefan was obliged to accept Ottoman suzerainty.

(C) Moldavian Strajeri frontier cavalryman, c.1475. Like other humble members of the *oastea cea mare* or 'Great Army' levy of the Romanian principalities the strajeri were mostly lightly armed and fought in an essentially Turco-Mongol manner. By using horse archery, light spears, and great speed they harassed and attempted to surround a foe, only closing in with sabres, maces or axes when he was already broken. Their costume was similar to that of both Russian and some Hungarian light horse of the period. The thickly padded coat originated among the Steppe peoples; with the characteristic eastern European shield, it was their only protection. Note the long quillons of the typical eastern European sabre; and the new, slender spear blade designed to penetrate armour. Such troops were the ancestors of the hussars of the following century (although that term had in fact been used by Byzantines to describe Balkan and Hungarian light horse since at least the 10th century).

(D) Bosnian 'Crusader' of the Oastea of Wallachia, mid-15th century. Bosnian and Italian volunteers, usually listed as 'crusaders' or mercenaries, were fewer than the Germans and other middle Europeans in the full-time professional *oastea* armies of the Romanian principalities, but may have been more prominent in mid-15th century Wallachia. Genoese, Venetian and Dalmatian soldiers and traders had long been common across much of the Balkans. The military equipment of Bosnia, Dalmatia and to a lesser extent Croatia was strongly influenced by that of Italy, particularly Venice, from which most weapons were imported. This crossbowman wears full Italian armour, the helmet being of a type associated with Venice's Balkan Empire. Over his plate cuirass he wears a quilted tunic. The crossbow is of an eastern European form, and is spanned by a powerful iron cranequin. A large wooden mantlet shield was propped on a stake, giving good protection while reloading.

(E) Transylvanian Voinici, mid-15th century. The voinici were a general levy, mostly of

peasants and townsmen, who formed the great bulk of the *oastea cea mare* under their local *knèzes*.

— notables with recognised military experience. They were probably similarly dressed and equipped in the Hungarian province of Transylvania and the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. Some carried early forms of firearm, though the majority were armed only with pikes, maces, bows or even slings. This man's bronze gun, perhaps imported from northern Italy, is of the simplest form, without any form of lock; a barrel pierced with a touch-hole is mounted in a wooden stock and fired by a separate length of slow-match. His war-axe is a more typically Hungarian or Transylvanian peasant weapon. The very long-sleeved coat betrays Ottoman or late Byzantine influence; the slits cut in the tunic (like the gun) could indicate relative prosperity, while the long slits up the outside of the sleeves show how Venetian fashion was reaching into almost every corner of 15th century Hungary.

(F) Heavy armoured infantryman, Hungarian 'Black Army', late 15th century. Based on armoured foot soldiers shown in the Corvinus Graduale, the richly illustrated MS made for Matthias Corvinus in 1487. Many appear to wear Italian armour (though it must be remembered that the artist was probably an Italian himself) of a type made for export throughout Europe. The fluting on the armpit roundels, tassets and poleyn wings foreshadow German style of a generation later. The helmet, broadly of sallet shape with roundels protecting the ears and a laminated neck-guard, may already reflect the influence of Turkish chichak helmets, the forerunners of the zischägge. The blackened surface of the armour was achieved by a heat treatment. The small so-called 'Bohemian pavise' is carried by almost all troops in the Corvinus Graduale; and the distinctive glaive-style polearm, with hand-protecting iron discs, is also seen throughout the manuscript.

Mare or 'Great Army' which was only summoned in an emergency. The inhabitants of vulnerable frontier zones had greater obligations, serving as *strajeri* in semi-permanent militias which clearly reflected the old Byzantine frontier *stratioti*.

Elite cavalry of the permanent forces were known as *viteji*, the infantry of both

'Great' and 'Little' armies being called *voinici* or *iunaci*. The fierce Vlachs of the mountains had long been renowned as infantry archers, though their role had been largely defensive since the late 13th century. Men were apparently called up in groups of six, perhaps leaving others to tend their fields or businesses as had been the

case in Byzantium. Such infantry forces had defeated invading Hungarians and Poles during the 14th century, especially when using their preferred tactics of ambush or surprise attacks during winter, but had been less effective against Turkish or Mongol nomads. Nevertheless the peasants or towns-

continued on page 30



E



F

Glazed ceramic panel from a stove in Budapest Castle: a 15th century Hungarian man-at-arms wearing a kettle helmet and German upper body armour while his legs are unprotected. This perhaps represents the relatively light cavalry of Matthias's army — though it may, alternatively, simply show partial jousting armour. (Museum of the History of Budapest)

Below:

Not all Hungarian or Balkan warriors were light cavalry; some horse and many foot wore standard Western armour such as these late 15th century sallets and breastplates. Weapons included light maces, east European broadswords with S-shaped quillons, and normal Western thrusting swords. The armour appears to include both German and Italian pieces. (National Museum, Budapest)

continued from page 27

folk of the Romanian principalities still played a more important military role than ordinary folk did in most other parts of 15th century Europe.

Stefan cel Mare now recruited cavalry from outside the traditional class of noble boyars; and put more effort into training the foot soldiers who still formed two-thirds of most Romanian armies. In this Stefan had learned both from his Western neighbours, where Hussite infantry had upset the traditional military systems of central Europe, and from his Ottoman foes to the south, with their famous Janissary infantry. Nevertheless, Moldavian and Wallachian foot soldiers remained more effective in close country such as the forested slopes of the Carpathians than in the neighbouring grasslands. Their weapons included hand-guns and crossbows as well as traditional bows, spears, swords and maces.

Generally speaking only the boyars and viteji elite cavalry wore armour. Most shields were of leather-covered wood, though some men carried 'woven reed' shields — almost certainly of the cotton- or silk-bound spiral cane variety used by Turkish and Mongol horsemen. The most common form of body protection was



a thickly padded coat, like that used in Russia, among the steppe nomads and in parts of Hungary. Most equipment was probably made locally although the best swords, armour and firearms would have been imported. Stefan also established Moldavia's first small force of artillery, the guns again being imported via Hungarian Transylvania and Poland.

Danubian Plain. The mixed origins of its inhabitants have fuelled Romanian-Hungarian rivalry to the present day, but in the mid-15th century they had other things to worry about.

Following a catastrophic defeat by the Ottomans at Varna in 1444, in which their king was slain, the Hungarian military aristocracy elected the boy Lazlo V as their ruler with a famous general, Janos Hunyadi, as his guardian and regent. Hunyadi is claimed as a national hero by both Hungary and Romania. His ethnic origins are unclear, for though he was born in Transylvania, where his huge castle still stands at Hunedoara, he was a member of the Hungarian aristocracy. Harassed from the rear by Czech Hussites under Jan Jiskra as well as by the German Emperor Frederick III, Hunyadi nevertheless defended Hungary from repeated Ottoman attacks — not that he was always victorious, being beaten by the Turks in 1448 at the Second Battle of Kosovo (allegedly through the treacherous desertion of the Wallachian contingent).

Two years after the great general died in 1456, his son Matthias was elected king. Known as Matthias Corvinus, he not only made himself the strongest ruler Hungary had seen for 150 years, but also became an important patron of cities and of Italian Renaissance culture. King Matthias was, in fact, an 'enlightened despot', and one way in which he enforced his authority was by using a mercenary force comparable to the hired Condottieri armies which dominated warfare in Renaissance Italy. Most of Matthias Corvinus' wars were in fact fought in the West, culminating in his capture of Vienna and much of Austria in 1485. But his dream of creating a new central European state capable of resisting the Ottomans failed, and after King Matthias' sudden death in 1490 his fragile realm fell to pieces. Half a century later Hungary and virtually all its dependencies lay under Turkish rule.

MATTHIAS CORVINUS OF HUNGARY

The third region of modern Romania, Transylvania, had formed part of the Kingdom of Hungary since the 10th century, though remaining distinct in both culture and in administration. Like Wallachia and Moldavia it consisted of mountains, the western slopes of the Carpathians, and lowlands, the eastern part of the great

The Black Army

Nor did Matthias' 'Black Army' of mercenaries long survive its founder. This extraordinarily modern standing force was maintained through general taxation which even the great nobles had to pay. It numbered around 30,000 well-trained, well-paid men who received 66 ducats a year. The troops were also well equipped in the blackened armour which gave them their name, and were largely recruited from among ex-Hussite Czech (Bohemian and Moravian) troops, German *ritter* heavy cavalry, Poles and Serbians.

The Black Army gained a reputation for particular skill in winter warfare and fought successfully against Poland and Bohemia, in Austria, Silesia and against the Ottoman Turks. Otherwise the tactics of the Black Army largely mirrored those of Hung-

ary's western neighbours. The horsemen might have worn slightly less armour, having to co-operate with the indigenous light cavalry of Hungary; while infantry crossbowmen and hand-gunners fought behind large mantlet-like *pavise* shields which rested on the ground. The large numbers of Poles and Czechs in the Black Army probably also account for a widespread adoption of small rectangular *pavise* shields with vertical keels down the centre.

Levies and militias

The Black Army was not, of course, the only military force in 15th century Hungary, for there remained the feudal hosts and levies which had provided the bulk of Janos Hunyadi's forces. Though widely criticized for their poor weaponry, lack of discipline and slow rate of muster, these typical medieval forces had preserved the

Hungarian state and even expanded its frontiers. One problem was the fact that such Hungarian troops only served in defence of the nation and not in any offensive capacity: it was this lack that the Black Army was designed to fill.

Feudal levies from agricultural regions generally consisted of infantry plus aristocratic armoured cavalry. In contrast the pastoral population of the Great Hungarian Plain had been reinforced by repeated waves of Turcic immigrants, above all the Kipchaqs (known in Hungary as Cumans) in the 13th century and Iranian-speaking Iasians in the 14th century. Levies drawn from such peoples included large numbers of light cavalry using the bow as their ancestors had done.

Another important military element was the Germans, large numbers of whom had settled in the north and east of the country in mineral-rich mining areas. In some legends the Transylvanian Germans are linked to those children whom the Pied Piper spirited away from Hameln. They certainly brought with them Western

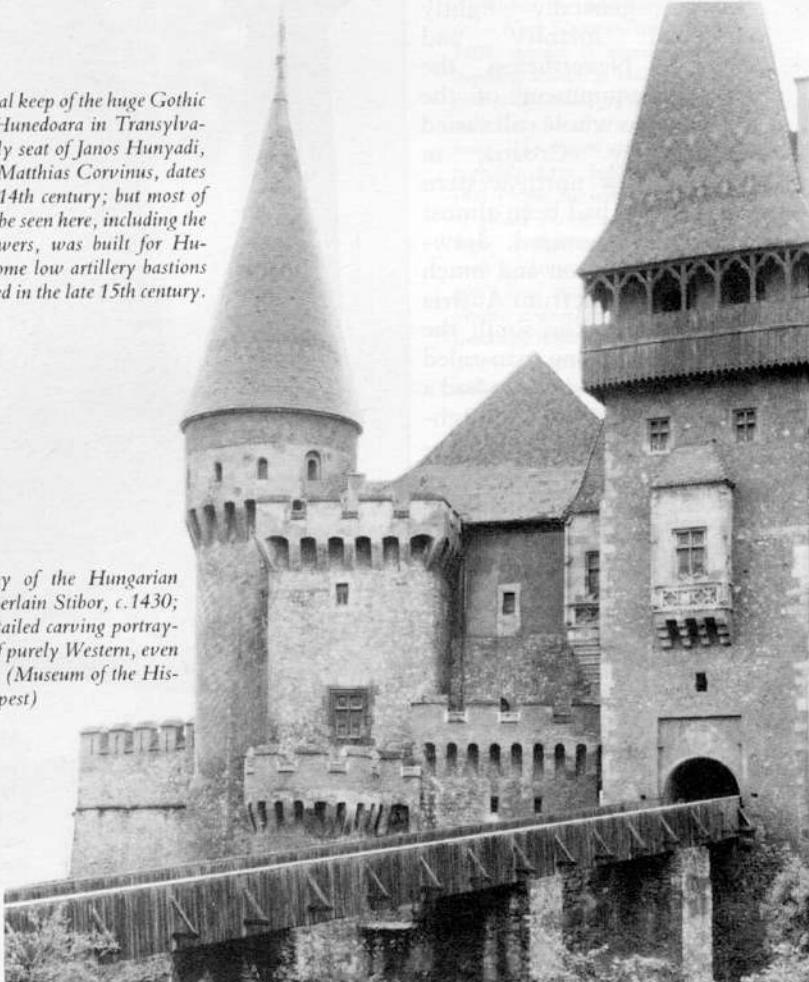
concepts of arms, armour and tactics, while retaining close contact with their fellow countrymen back in Germany. The bulk of non-Magyar troops in the rambling Hungarian realm were, however, Slavs. Hungary had been recruiting Balkan warriors since at least the 12th century, and their importance rose considerably during the 15th, when they probably included some of the defeated military elites of the south.

In many respects the armies of 15th century Hungary were a remarkable mixture of mercenaries, foreign volunteers and indigenous militias. The latter, particularly those from Transylvania, were recruited and organised in much the same way as the militias of Wallachia and Moldavia. Meanwhile the foreign volunteers included many who regarded themselves as 'Crusaders' against the advancing Ottoman Turks. Most were of humble origins such as craftsmen, labourers and peasants. While the bulk of these foreign troops stemmed from Prussia, Bohemia, Poland, Germany and Austria, others



Left:

Marble effigy of the Hungarian Lord Chamberlain Stibor, c. 1430; a stiff but detailed carving portraying armour of purely Western, even Italian style. (Museum of the History of Budapest)



came from the Balkans — Wallachia, Moldavia, Serbia, Bosnia, Albania and Bulgaria — most of which already lay under some degree of Ottoman rule, plus Italians and even a few Catalans from Spain. Various Turcic nomads could also be found in Hungarian, Moldavian and Wallachian forces. Small wonder that the armies of Hungary and its eastern neighbours used almost every tactic and form of equipment seen in the 15th century.

Changes in equipment and tactics

Ottoman successes encouraged Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Romanians and others to adopt many Turkish cavalry styles, and from around 1400 large numbers of Balkan light horsemen had been enlisted by the Hungarians. As the Ottoman Empire spread so the peasantry of many regions also looked to their own defence, becoming increasingly warlike in the process. This was particularly true in Croatia, Bosnia and Slovakia, which remained frontier zones for centuries.

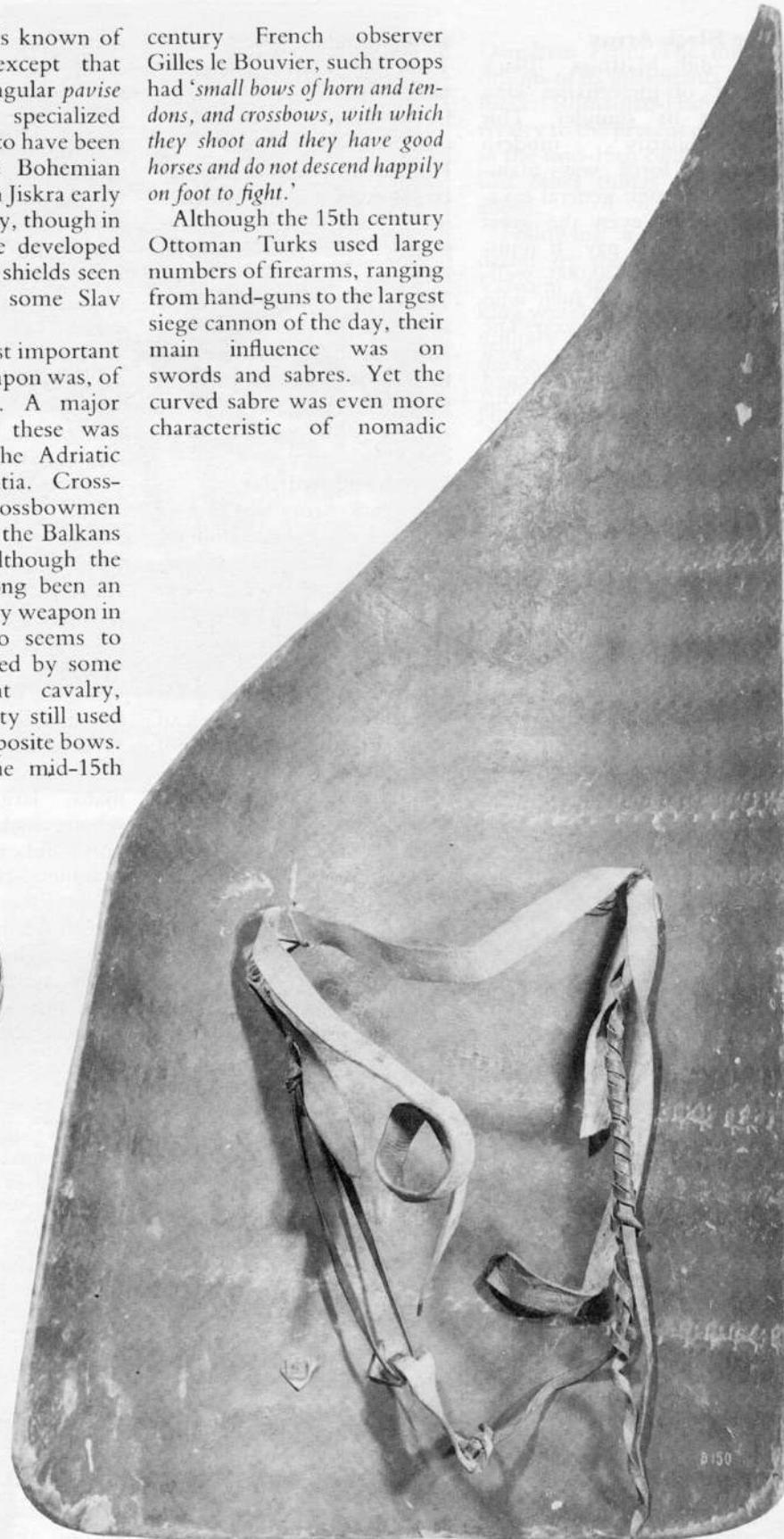
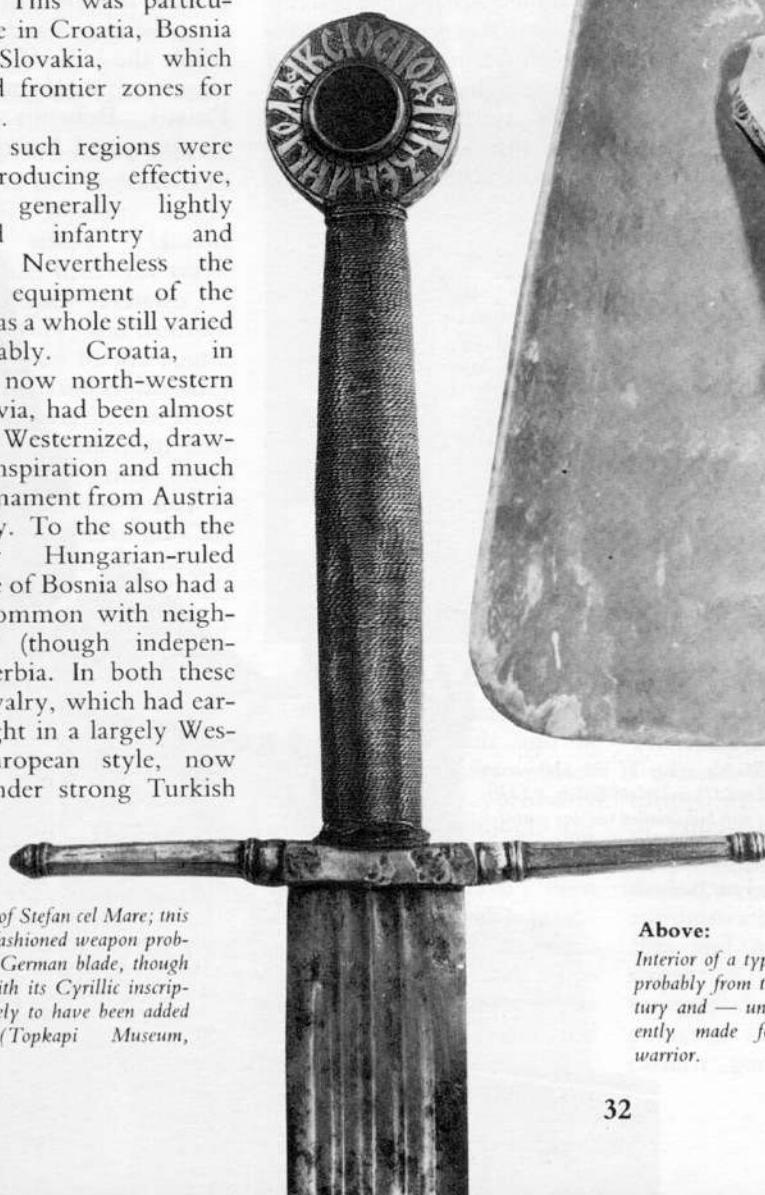
Many such regions were soon producing effective, though generally lightly equipped infantry and cavalry. Nevertheless the military equipment of the Balkans as a whole still varied considerably. Croatia, in what is now north-western Yugoslavia, had been almost entirely Westernized, drawing its inspiration and much of its armament from Austria and Italy. To the south the similarly Hungarian-ruled province of Bosnia also had a lot in common with neighbouring (though independent) Serbia. In both these areas cavalry, which had earlier fought in a largely Western European style, now came under strong Turkish

influence. Little is known of their infantry except that many used rectangular *pavise* shields. These specialized defences are said to have been invented by the Bohemian Hussite leader Jan Jiskra early in the 15th century, though in reality they were developed from rectangular shields seen much earlier in some Slav areas.

One of the most important forms of new weapon was, of course, firearms. A major entry point for these was Dubrovnik on the Adriatic coast of Dalmatia. Crossbows as well as crossbowmen similarly entered the Balkans by this route, although the crossbow had long been an important infantry weapon in Hungary. It also seems to have been adopted by some Hungarian light cavalry, while the majority still used Asiatic type composite bows. According to the mid-15th

century French observer Gilles le Bouvier, such troops had '*small bows of horn and tendons, and crossbows, with which they shoot and they have good horses and do not descend happily on foot to fight.*'

Although the 15th century Ottoman Turks used large numbers of firearms, ranging from hand-guns to the largest siege cannon of the day, their main influence was on swords and sabres. Yet the curved sabre was even more characteristic of nomadic



Above:

Interior of a typical hussar shield, probably from the early 16th century and — unusually — apparently made for a left-handed warrior.

Turcic tribes of the Ukrainian steppes. During the 14th and 15th centuries such peoples occupied or continuously raided many open areas of Moldavia, Wallachia and Thrace in what is now eastern Bulgaria, their depredations only being halted after these regions fell under Ottoman

control. Such tribes were generally, though inaccurately, referred to as Tartars and they probably had a greater influence on local military styles than did the Ottomans themselves, particularly where the adoption of the sabre was concerned.

A distinctive form of Hungarian sabre soon came into being. This had a cruciform hilt with very long slender quillons reflecting standard 15th century European straight swords. Such weapons were at first used only by light cavalry but had been adopted by some of the aristocratic elite by the late 15th century. Western European military systems, arms and armour signally failed to stem the Turkish advance, and their inadequacy seems to have been recognized at the time. The growing popularity of the sabre in eastern Europe may be symbolic of a general spread of 'oriental' military styles well before the Ottomans actually overran these areas. Nevertheless the conservatism characteristic of entrenched military elites ensured that changes were not introduced fast enough to save the Balkans and Hungary from foreign conquest.

MI

Sources

The military history of eastern Europe has been neglected in the West and while much has been published within the countries in question, relatively few specialised works have been translated into western European languages. The following books and articles are, however, useful:

D. Nicolle, *Hungary and the Fall of Eastern Europe 1000-1568* (Osprey Men-at-Arms No. 195, London 1988); an illustrated introduction with a small bibliography.

W. Rose, 'Die deutschen und italienischen schwarzen (grossen) Gardes im 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde VI* (1912-14), pp. 73-97; on the Hungarian Black Army.

A.G. Savu (edit.), *Pages de l'Histoire de l'Armée Roumaine* (Bucharest 1976); contains articles on military organization and the role of foreign volunteers in 15th century Romanian armies, the role of peasant levies, and the military contribution of Stefan cel Mare.

E. Soltész, *Das Corvinus Graduale* (Budapest 1982); on the most important illustrated manuscript source for arms and armour in late 14th century Hungary.



Above

Details from illuminated initials from the famous Corvinus Graduale MS. The kneeling king wears the armour (blackened) of a Hungarian heavy cavalry man-at-arms; and the foot soldiers standing on the bridge carry typical rectangular shields. (Szechenyi Nat. Lib., Budapest, Cod. Lat. 424, ff. 99r & 149r)



Left:

No full-sized example of the insignia of the Order of the Dragon, established by Matthias's predecessor King Siegmund in December 1408, appear to survive; nor is anything known in this case of the gold collar chain, from which such orders of chivalry were normally hung. The dragon and cross would probably have been about 10cm (4in.) high; this miniature insignia of gilded silver, is 4cm (1.6in.) high. A slightly different version, with a plainer cross and the dragon's head and front leg more in profile, appears in a portrait of Oswald von Wolkenstein, who died in 1445; it is worn pinned to a white sash over his left shoulder.

The Order had chivalric, military and political purposes. It provided a goal to which the aristocracy could aspire, and (hopefully) reinforced their loyalty to the Order's patron, the king. It will be recalled that Vlad the Impaler's father, also Vlad, took the surname Dracul to mark his appointment to the Order. The symbolism of a cross surmounting a dragon trapped within the coils of its own tail may reflect the Hungarian monarch's view of his country as Christendom's first line of defence. The motto was 'O quam misericors est deus, justus et pius'. (Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Inv.Nr.03,44)

'Catkiller One-Two': Over the DMZ in a Bird Dog

JIM HOOPER Painting by KEVIN LYLES

The public image of American air support in the Vietnam War is dominated by certain extreme stereotypes: Phantoms howling along tree-lines ahead of a blossoming curtain of napalm, helicopter gunships straddling in behind a storm of rockets and tracer, stately B-52s sailing atop endless columns of neatly spaced heavy bombs. But the targets for these strikes were necessarily hunted out by very much more dangerous means: by men circling the jungle canopy at minimum altitude, in tiny, slow spotter planes vulnerable to every kind of ground fire. This article represents the recollections of typical mission routines by one of these recce pilots.

Bill Hooper was conscripted in December 1965 and sent to Ft. Benning, Georgia, for basic training; then to Ft. Sill, Oklahoma, for Advanced Infantry Training; and on completion was selected for Officer Candidate School. He received his commission as a second lieutenant in the artillery. He was accepted for fixed wing flight training, and sent to Ft. Stewart, Georgia, for Primary and then to Rucker, Alabama, for Advanced Training. In June 1968 he arrived in the Republic of Vietnam and was assigned to the 21st Reconnaissance Airplane Company ('Black Aces') as an O-1 Bird Dog pilot.

Six weeks later he requested, and received, assignment to the all-volunteer 220th RAC, which operated on both sides of the DMZ and was considered to have the most dangerous mission profile for Bird Dogs in the entire theatre. The following recollections are in his own words:

*A*lthough Phu Bai was the 220th's headquarters, most of our flights were out of Dong Ha, which functioned as a staging field for air

ops into North Vietnam and westward into Laos. We had a small barracks 50 metres south of the western end of the runway. This barrack provided overnight billeting for the pilots flying the morning missions, and had two permanently assigned crew chiefs who oversaw minor maintenance. Late afternoon missions along the DMZ would depart Phu Bai and

then land at last light at Dong Ha, where we would spend the night before flying the first mission the following morning.

Each morning was much the same. Reveille was 0500, and you climbed into the same sweaty clothes you'd worn on the previous day's mission. Those who had beards shaved, and then we'd dig through a case of C-rations to find something to eat while waiting for our Marine or Army observer to bring the operational orders, which detailed which areas north of the Bến Hải River would be our focus that day.

By 0600 it was already quite warm — probably in the low 90s — and everything was dusty; the hooch you lived in was dusty, the air was full of dust, your clothes were full of dust, and everything smelled of stale sweat. The typical light-hearted conversations, bullshit conversations, which always filled the evening hours, were absent in the morning. In the morning

things got very serious. In the morning, there was very little sense of humour.

I would begin my preflight before 0600, checking for water in the fuel, checking that control surfaces had full freedom of movement, double-checking fuel quantities, looking for oil leaks. With this completed, I'd get myself 'dressed'. An emergency first aid kit was slung from the hip and tied down on the leg. This rested on your left thigh and contained morphine, bandages and other paraphernalia you'd need if you were downed. Next came the flak vest, and over that your shoulder holster with a .45. The very last thing was your ballistic helmet, which weighed about a million pounds. It would deflect something as small as a .30, even if it hit you square on. The only thing that would happen is that you'd have your neck broken; at least it kept things tidy. The crew chief would already have loaded your M-16 and hung it on a rack in front of your right knee. A bandolier of M-16 magazines was stowed under the seat.

With all this assembled, I'd stand outside the aircraft and push my seat forward to allow the observer to climb into the seat behind mine. Once I pushed it back so that I could get in, the observer was more or less trapped. In case of a problem — a bale-out or crash — the only way out for the observer was through his window, if the pilot didn't, or couldn't, pull his own seat forward. We settled into our seats, strapped on our parachutes and slipped on the inertia shoulder harnesses. Helmet radios were plugged in, internal comms checked, and then the engine start-up procedure was run through. I'd call 'Clear prop!', the crew chief would give me a thumbs up, I'd switch on the magnetos and hit the start button. As soon as the engine settled down and everything was in the green I'd begin to taxi, stopping about 15 metres short of the runway to do a run-up. Run-up complete, I'd call the tower,



Jim Hooper was initially assigned to 3rd Plow, 21st Reconnaissance Airplane Co.; the platoon was based at Qui Nhon in I Corps, and operated in support of 1st ARVN Regt.; in June 1968 the city garrison was under intense NVA/VC pressure.



Dong Ha Tower, Dong Ha Tower, this is Catkiller One-two, over.

Morning, One-two, this is Dong Ha Tower, go ahead.

Roger, Tower, this is Catkiller One-two holding short of (runway) number one, ready for take-off when cleared.

Roger, One-two. You are cleared, taxi number one on zero four. Altimeter setting two-niner-niner-two, winds zero-five out of the north-west. Taxi number one and hold. Call when ready for take-off, over.

Tower, this is Catkiller One-two, holding number one. Ready for take-off, over.

Roger, One-two, you are cleared (for) take-off. Be advised you have helo traffic passing north to south along Highway One, altitude approximately 500 feet, over.

Roger, roger, Tower, we have the traffic and are on the roll.

Switching to Dong Ha Tac. This is Catkiller One-two, out.

I would then switch frequencies to Dong Ha Tac, the tactical air controller for operations south of the Bèn Hái River. Once we crossed the river, control would be relayed to Hillsborough, the C-130 orbiting at 25-30,000 feet which took over tactical air control for all operations north of the river.

Dong Ha Tac, Dong Ha Tac, this is Catkiller One-two, over. Catkiller One-Two, this is Dong Ha Tac, go ahead.

Uh, Roger, Tac, this is Catkiller One-two. I'm off channel one-zero-niner at this time, have Whisky Papa in my back seat. I'm in aircraft 2646 up Highway One to Tallyho. ETR (Estimated Time of Return) approximately three and a half hours, over.

over.

Roger, Twelve, have you off channel one-zero-niner at this time, Whisky Papa back seat, aircraft 2646, up Highway One to Tallyho, ETR three and a half hours. Out.

The codeword Tallyho referred to flight ops penetrating the DMZ into North Vietnam, and with the completion of this last transmission we began the slow 20 minute flight up Highway One. Unlike single aircraft missions south of the DMZ, all incursions across the river were dual aircraft missions designated High Ship Low Ship. The Low Ship, flying between 3,000 and 4,000 feet, was operationally in charge of the mission, while the High Ship was there to keep track of the Low Ship in case he were shot down. Hope-

Above:

The flight line of the 'Black Aces' at Quang Ngai; note company badge on fin, and white-painted control surfaces of the olive drab Bird Dogs.

Centre:

'Pre-flight' at Quang Ngai, probably for a mission into the mountains in support of a Special Forces camp. The pair of rocket tubes under each wing were used mainly for firing white phosphorus rounds to mark targets for jets. Just visible ahead of the white disc on the tail is a coloured company badge, as illustrated with our colour figure plate.

fully, he would get a fix on the downed aircraft and provide control for immediate extraction.

FINDING TARGETS — AND AVOIDING BECOMING ONE

The altitudes at which we flew were in direct response to the types of weapons

which normally engaged us. Below 3,000 feet the NVA would engage us with 12.7mm AAA, which were particularly effective at that altitude. Above 4,000 feet we were consistently engaged with 37mm and 57mm flak. When firing from multiple sites, they could bring a lot of firepower to bear on a single Bird Dog.

Our defence against these weapons rested solely with altitude and the flying techniques we used. We flew very erratic and unco-ordinated flight patterns. Flying in a skid or a slip meant we were actually flying in a direction other than that in which the aircraft nose was pointing. This made the already small target of a Bird Dog at, say, 3,500 feet very difficult to hit. These skids and slips were coupled with high angle manoeuvres so that we were constantly changing direction and altitude. As a result, target acquisition by NVA gunners was almost impossible.

Capt. William C. Hooper is decorated with the Silver Star for service over the DMZ, 1968-69.

Below:

21st RAC flight line at the company's Phu Bai headquarters; Note three smoke grenades rigged on the side of the Bird Dog; these were used to make it easier for jets to spot the small, drab race planes when rendezvousing over a target.

The best testimony to the effectiveness of these flying techniques is that over the term of our flying north of the river, which totalled literally thousands of hours, we lost only one aircraft — and that loss resulted from the

pilot not using these techniques.

As we entered the southern boundaries of the DMZ on our approach to the Bén Hái River, we would call *Hillborough Control*, providing the same information given to

Dong Ha Tac. Once established north of the river we worked back and forth over our assigned area, looking for possible artillery sites, AAA sites or the occasional truck park. Our mission was to search for and locate these targets and engage them with whatever ordnance might be available, be it our own artillery, tactical air or sometimes naval gunfire.

Working within 10km of the Bén Hái River, we had 175mm guns which were located inside the Dong Ha firebase; beyond that range we relied solely on tactical air. Most engagements involved AAA sites, followed by the occasional truck park or, more rarely, active artillery sites. These accounted for almost 90% of all engagements north of the river. The balance included new bunkers, the rare truck that might try to move during daylight hours, and small boats ferrying materiel across the Bén Hái River into South Vietnam. Probably half these missions engaged no targets at all.

Of course, AA fire was always a threat, and the NVA gunners knew what they were doing. They usually waited until we were flying away from the sites and had our backs to them before opening fire; this way, should they miss, we would be unable to locate the site by the muzzle flashes. Our response to this was to break away from the sound of the rounds passing the aircraft, pull nose high, and look over our shoulder to try spotting the flashes. The vast majority of AAA sites we engaged were detected this way.

On the days when no targets were detected we turned south at the end of the mission time, advising *Hillborough* of our departure from his control. Approaching Dong Ha, we'd call Dong Ha Tac to advise we were leaving his mission control area. We landed and immediately taxied to the fuel depot, shut down, and refuelled the aircraft ourselves from 10,000 gallon bladders. We then taxied to the flight line, parked





the aircraft in the revetments, and completed a mission report. We'd grab some C-rations, fly the noon mission, and return to Phu Bai in the afternoon. The evening mission would be flown by fresh pilots just arrived from Phu Bai.

ACTIVE ARTILLERY, AMBUSHED ARMOUR

I had returned from one of these morning missions and had parked the aircraft when I got my first taste of active artillery. I was just walking up to our line shack when there was the low, muffled impact of two artillery rounds landing some 400 metres short of the runway. Before I could react, two more rounds went over and landed about 200 metres beyond the runway. As they spiralled overhead it became abundantly clear to me that the airfield was bracketed. At the same time everyone in the line shack came running out

to dive into the bunkers located between the shack and the runway.

I ran for the bunker, stuck my head inside and screamed for an observer, than ran for my aircraft. By this time the rounds were impacting inside the Dong Ha firebase. An Army infantry captain, my favourite observer, ran for the aircraft right behind me. In something of a hurry, we took off without the formality of clearances from the tower. As soon as we were airborne I contacted Hillsborough Control directly:

Hillsborough, Hillsborough, this is Catkiller One-two, over. Roger, Catkiller, this is Hillsborough, go ahead. Roger, Hillsborough, this is Catkiller One-two, I am off channel one-zero-niner at this time. We have active arty. Say again: active arty. I have Whisky Papa back seat. Aircraft 2646. Please scramble two flights of air. I want high delivery.

Delta Three's with daisy cutters. We will rendezvous with the air on radial three-four-five at 22 nautical miles. ETR to be advised, over.

As soon as these transmissions were acknowledged my observer contacted 8th Artillery Group to advise them of our airborne position and to prepare for a fire mission. Between 10 and 15 minutes elapsed before we were close enough and high enough to get a fix on the target, which comprised three 152mm howitzers. I called for immediate fire. The NVA guns were well dug in, which meant that point detonation counterfire would require a direct hit, something extremely difficult at this range. As soon as we had the target bracketed, I had the 175s fire for effect using air bursts. My intent was to kill the crews. As we came over the target I made final corrections and the 175mm rounds

Capt. Bill Hooper at the controls of his O-1 Bird Dog, flying up Highway One to the DMZ in early 1969. His observer, callsign 'Whisky Papa', is calling for artillery advisories along the route.

raked the entire battery.

With the final air bursts the guns were either disabled or the crews killed, because they stopped firing. About this time, the first flight of F4s arrived on site; even though we were receiving heavy flak the target was effectively engaged, and by the completion of the second flight of Fox-fours all three guns were completely destroyed.

* * *

One morning I assigned one of our new pilots the job of providing cover for an armoured recon patrol operating north-west of Dong Ha. Consisting of two APCs and a M48 tank, the group was moving through the shallow foothills some five miles from Dong Ha. I had

just cleared the traffic pattern *en route* to the 'Yellow Brick Road' area inside Laos when I received an emergency transmission from our new pilot. The armoured group had just been ambushed, and because of the pilot's inexperience he was asking for assistance. I had him in sight and turned in his direction, ordering him to climb to 2,000 feet and hold over the area while I dealt with the situation.

On my arrival minutes later, I found that one of the APCs had been hit with an RPG. The crew, with one wounded, had retreated to the second APC which was giving covering fire along with the M48. The undamaged armour was unable to disengage without exposing itself more than it already was. I immediately contacted the tactical air controller for ops south of the Bèn Hải River:

Dong Ha Tac, this is Catkiller One-two. Troops in contact, over.

Catkiller One-two, this is Dong Ha Tac. Go ahead.

Roger, Tac. This is Catkiller One-two. I have an armoured patrol ambushed by a platoon-size force. Their location is the three-one-four degree radial out of channel one-zero-niner at approximately six nautical miles. If available, please divert flights with Snake and Nape on board, over.

At this point there was no way we could sit back and wait for the arrival of tactical air. The VC force had already mounted the disabled APC and were preparing sapper charges to be placed against the second APC and M48, which were in serious danger of being overrun. Our only immediate solution was to

engage these targets ourselves. With our M-16s loaded with tracers, at low altitudes we could be fairly effective engaging ground targets.

As I held a tight circle 200 feet above the target my observer and I began firing from our windows, driving the VC force from the APC. With only very broken cover in the area, they were forced on the defensive and temporarily gave up trying to place their charges against the other armoured vehicles. We continued to rake the area and were successful in discouraging the VC from remounting the armour. In about five minutes I received a call from a pair of Marine A4s diverted to the target area.

By this time the weather had consolidated and, while the visibility was very good, we had a ceiling of only about 1,500 feet. This worked to my advantage because the jets were forced to approach the target area below the clouds. At that altitude they were burning very dirty and their long, grey exhaust trails could be seen several miles away.

Catkiller Twelve, Catkiller Twelve, this is Hammer Two-four-two, over.

Roger, Hammer, this is Catkiller One-two, over.

Roger, Catkiller, this is Hammer 242. Flight of two A4s, Snake and Nape on board, play time three-five minutes, over.

Roger, Hammer 242. We have troops in contact located on the 314 degree radial out of channel 109 at 6 nautical miles. I am an Oh-One Bird Dog, OD in colour with white control surfaces. I am in a tight left hand turn over the target area at this time. Please advise when you have me in sight, over.

Less than fifteen seconds went by before . . .

Catkiller Twelve, Catkiller Twelve, this is Hammer 242. I have you in sight, over.

Roger, 242, I have you approximately one mile to my southeast. Please set up a left-hand pattern. The target is directly underneath me. Please advise when you are ready to observe and I will mark the target with a white phosphorus, over.

Roger, Catkiller. You're cleared for marking, over.

I extended my pattern, turned back in and fired a white phosphorus rocket.

242, 242, do you have the mark, over?

Roger, Catkiller, we have the

mark.

Roger, 242, turn north. Mark is located on top of a small knoll. You'll see a burned-out area to the west bordered on the far west side by a shallow creek, over.

Roger, Catkiller, I am turning north. Hammer 242 Number One has the target, over.

Roger, 242 Number One. Call when turning final, over.

Roger, Catkiller, 242 Number One is turning final, over.

Roger, 242. Be advised your target: Nape first, 3 o'clock from the mark, fifteen metres. I say again: from the mark at 3 o'clock, one-five metres.

Roger, Catkiller. Three o'clock from the mark, one-five metres.

Roger, 242. You're cleared hot.

I had advised the tank commander that the A4s were about to engage the target and had emphasized to him that Nape would be dropped within 50 ft. of his position. Well, I'm sure this caused him more than casual concern. But he was more concerned with discouraging the VC on the outside. The first A4 passed underneath me and, while taking lots of small arms fire, laid the Nape precisely where it was requested.

With the impact of the first napalm the ambushing force were completely on the

'Call sign "Whiskey Papa": Mike was my observer on many flights into North Vietnam, and he had the best eyes around. Few liked him; I did, mostly because he could see things other people couldn't. He once convinced me to run an air strike on an innocent-looking tree-line — which turned out to contain a pair of 130mm artillery pieces. From then on, when he said "Shoot", I shot.'



defensive and now made every effort to disengage themselves from the target area. I directed Hammer Number Two to place his Nape 30m at nine o'clock from Number One's hit. As Number Two pulled off target I could see a group of VC about 50m north of the target preparing to cross the bombed out area and find cover in the heavy growth along the creek bed. The enemy troops would have to traverse an area of about 40m and, as the ground was relatively smooth, could have covered the distance in no more than eight or ten seconds and been clear before Hammer Number One would be in a position to engage them. I can only suppose there was some indecision on their part when to make the break, for they delayed a good ten or 15 seconds and allowed Hammer Number One to turn final. At this point, a group of 15 to 20 men broke cover and went running downslope towards the creek. I immediately hit my mike button:

Number One, Number One we have troops in the open, forty to fifty metres, four o'clock from your first hit. Do you have them, over?

*Roger, Roger, Catkiller, I have them in sight.
242, you're cleared hot.*

It's kind of strange, but at this point I remember wondering why they had delayed, and if they knew their attempt to escape was now utterly futile. Number One again passed underneath and a little to my west and deposited two 500lb. bombs right in the middle of their escape attempt. When the smoke and dust cleared there was virtually no trace of them. Immediately after this my observer, a Marine lieutenant by the name of Mike La Frambois, reported muzzle flashes coming from the cover in the vicinity of the streambed. Number Two was then directed to drop his ordnance along the streambed and, while ground fire ceased, we were not sure



whether we had inflicted any casualties in that area.

The final damage assessment was one US wounded, 18 or 20 Viet Cong killed, and an undetermined number of VC wounded. During the course of the engagement a battalion-size armoured unit had been dispatched to reinforce the armoured patrol and arrived on site some 20 minutes after the engagement was over. I remained on station for the next two hours, providing reconnaissance and ensuring that if they were again engaged we could bring immediate fire support on their behalf. Their withdrawal back to Dong Ha was uneventful. MI

On 23 March 1969, after logging over 900 combat flying hours, the 21-year-old Captain Hooper (by now the holder of a Silver Star) was seriously wounded while directing artillery fire against an NVA bunker system inside North Vietnam. Despite a shattered and almost severed right arm he was successful in returning to an emergency airstrip south of the Bến Hải River. After 18 months in hospital and five operations he returned to university, eventually graduating with a Master's Degree in Ocean Engineering. Today Bill Hooper lives and works in Florida, where he and his wife are active sub-aqua sports divers—a tribute both to his determination and to the skills of the doctors who virtually rebuilt his arm.

Kevin Lyles' colour reconstruction shows Capt. Hooper wearing final pattern jungle fatigues, jungle boots, and the issue OD baseball cap; this bears subdued insignia—the company's 'Catkiller' slogan above pilot wings and captain's rank bars. These latter are repeated on the right collar, with his artillery arm-of-service insignia on the left. The subdued patch of the 1st Aviation Brigade is worn on the left shoulder; this was the senior formation for all US Army non-divisional aviation units, fixed-wing and helicopter, in Vietnam. The 220th RAC was one of six companies in the 212th Combat Aviation Battalion, one of two battalions forming the 16th Combat Aviation Group; four CAGs of widely differing sizes, and additional units under direct command, formed the 1st Aviation Brigade 'Golden Hawks'.

Preparing for a mission from Dong Ha, 1968, Capt. Hooper carries an M52 'flak jacket', AFH-1 helmet, and a .45 pistol in a shoulder holster. Also illustrated are the company patches of the 220th and 21st RACs.

Waffen-SS Camouflaged Paratroop Uniform: New Evidence?

During the final preparation for press of his new colour photograph book on Waffen-SS uniforms⁽¹⁾ collector ANDREW STEVEN noticed intriguing features of a borrowed garment, which may represent new evidence in the controversial question of the existence or otherwise of special paratroops' combat clothing in Waffen-SS camouflage.

The pair of trousers photographed here belong to a private collector. They had become associated some years ago with a camouflage jacket of armoured troops' design, and it had been assumed that they were Panzer issue. In many respects they closely resemble the lower half of the scarce SS-Panzer camouflage uniform. However, when loaned to Mr. Steven for photography alongside actual Panzer camouflage uniforms the small but important differences became obvious: in particular, the knee pockets, which appear identical to those found in Luftwaffe 'jump trousers'.

Construction

The trousers are made of coarse herringbone twill, printed on the outside in SS 'pea' pattern camouflage of three greens and two browns; this shows through to some extent on the inner surface, which is natural unbleached 'hessian' colour. The tapered ankles have 10cm vents at the bottom of the outseams, these vents and the cuffs being lined with strips



of grey artificial silk; there are white tightening tapes at the vents. The inside crotch is reinforced with an unbleached twill patch. The inside waistband and the right inner edge of the fly are lined with grey artificial silk. The fly is fastened with four 14mm and one (top) 17mm dished, four-hole, grey metal buttons; another four 17mm buttons are spaced round the inside waistband for braces (suspenders). There are six camouflage-cloth belt loops round the outside waist; and at the centre rear two broad vertical tabs, of camouflage cloth lined grey, which double as belt loops and braces attachments — each has a vertical pair of 17mm buttons at the outside top. At each side of the rear waist a tightening tab of camouflage cloth, lined grey, passes forward to a two-prong blackened metal buckle mounted in a cloth loop sewn into the outseam.

There are two front pockets, two rear pockets, and a small fob pocket at right front. The fob pocket is made of unbleached twill, and fastens with a small triangular cloth flap, lined grey, and a press-stud; this, like all other press-studs, is painted drab dark green, and the inside female surface is stamped 'SHB — SWIP.5.' into the bright white metal. The front pockets, left and right, are made of white cotton. They have slanted openings closed by flaps cut *en accolade*, of camouflage cloth lined grey, with central press-studs. The right rear pocket is 15cm wide, made of white cotton, and closed by a flap of camouflage cloth lined grey, cut *en accolade*, and a central press-stud. The left rear pocket is made of grey artificial silk, and only 11cm wide, but is otherwise identical.

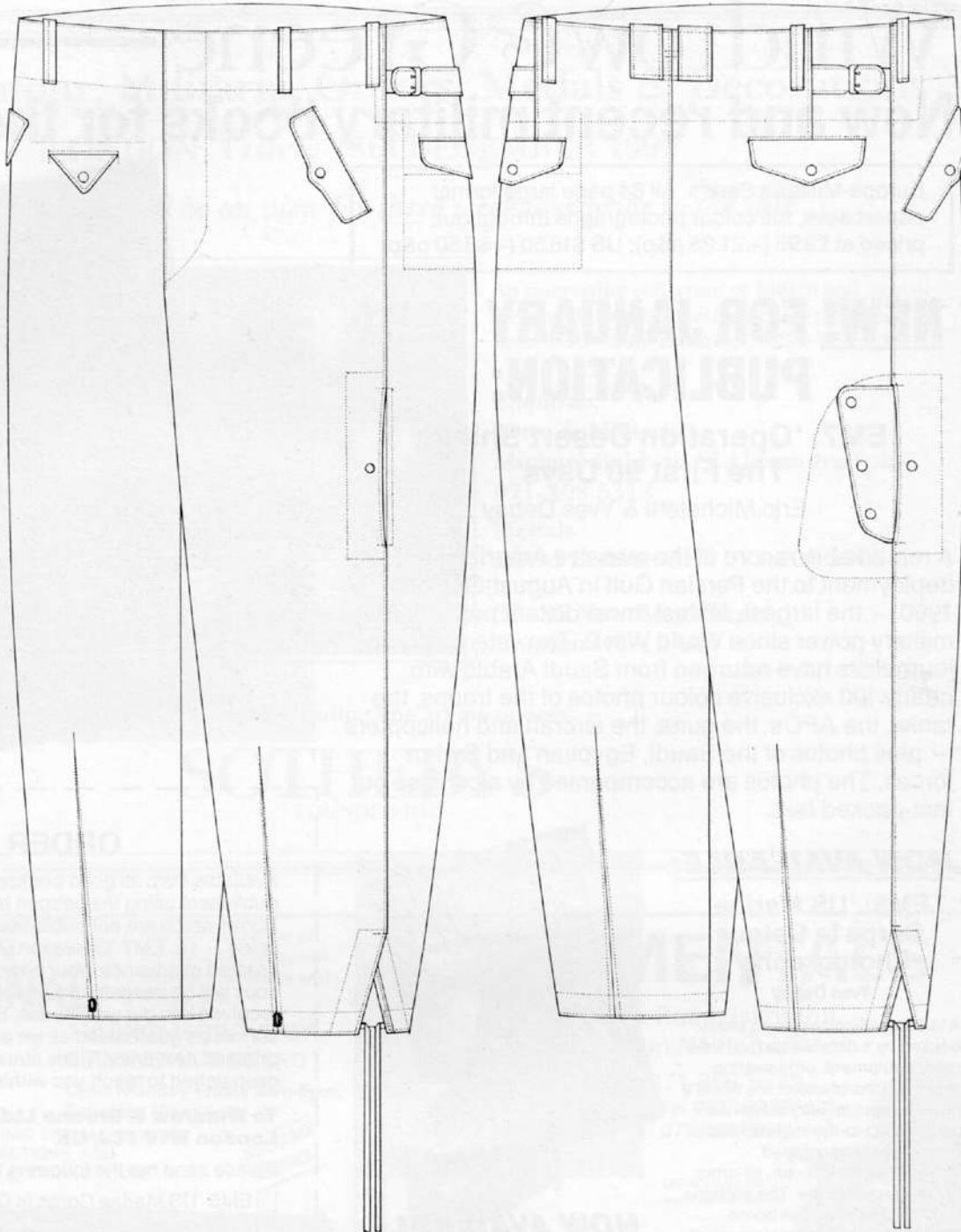
In the left outseam at roughly knee level is an 18cm opening giving access; the front edge is lined grey, and there is a central press-stud. There is an identical opening in the right outseam. Immediately behind this, closed by an irregular flap 18cm long and 7cm at its greatest width, with three spaced press-studs, is an inner pocket. This is made of camouflage cloth with a central horizontal strip of grey artificial silk reinforcement. The lower half is doubled with camouflage cloth inside, and this innermost pocket is vertically bisected with stitching into two narrow sections.

The only markings are black stamps on the inside right waistband and on the pocket below it: '60 59', '106', an illegible stamp which may also be '106', and '43'.

Finish is very crude, and the inside seams are left raw or roughly tacked. No less than four distinct types of grey artificial silk, in both smooth and herringbone weave, are used for the various linings.

The evidence so far

The existence of specifically SS jump smocks has long been a controversial question. As yet there is no known wartime photographic evidence for the wearing of such garments. The many photographs which have now been published showing men of SS-Fallschirmjäger-Bataillon 500 (later '600'), the only full unit of such



troops, cover in particular their only major airborne operation — against Tito's HQ at Drvar in late May 1944. Photos have also been published of later operations on the northern sector of the Russian Front⁽²⁾. All photos in which clothing is identifiable appear to show the use of the 'splinter' camouflage Luftwaffe jump smock and field grey Luftwaffe jump trousers, the only SS items being soft headgear and tunics (which latter retain the insignia of the parent units of these individual volunteers or penal probationers). The Fallschirmjäger steel helmet is worn, with or without netting, and with or without the Luftwaffe decal.

There are several known examples of a version of the Luftwaffe paratrooper's jump smock made in SS camouflage-printed drill material. Anecdotal evidence suggests that a batch of these smocks were found by US troops when the SS Clothing

Depot at Dachau was overrun in April 1945, and that they were shipped to the USA for commercial sale to hunters. All were supposedly unworn and apparently unissued. (Reportedly, some of this batch of smocks bore the SS sleeve eagle sewn to the right breast, in Luftwaffe fashion, perhaps suggesting that operations under Luftwaffe operational control were anticipated; but the smocks with 'breast' eagles were only reported well after the war, in the USA, and may possibly have had the eagles added to enhance their supposed value). That the Bavarian Army Museum holds two examples of the SS camouflage jump smock lends credence to its authenticity.

However, as far as is known there has never been a published suggestion that an SS camouflage-printed version of the jump trousers was ever manufactured. If the pair illustrated here are as authentic as they appear to

experienced collectors and dealers, they pose intriguing questions. **[1]**

Notes

(1) *Waffen-SS Uniforms in Colour Photographs*, A. Steven & P. Amadio; Windrow & Greene Ltd., Oct. 1990; ISBN 1-872004-61-X; 64pp, colour throughout; £9.95 (+ £1.25 P&P from publishers)

(2) The main published source is *Fallschirmjäger der Waffen-SS im Bild*, Kunzmann/Milius; Munin Verlag GmbH, Osnabrück, 1986; ISBN 3-921242-67-3

Acknowledgements

We are most grateful to the present owner of this garment, who wishes to remain anonymous, for permission to remain anonymous, for permission to examine and photograph it; to Tom Reeves for photography; and to Christa Hook for the schematic drawings.

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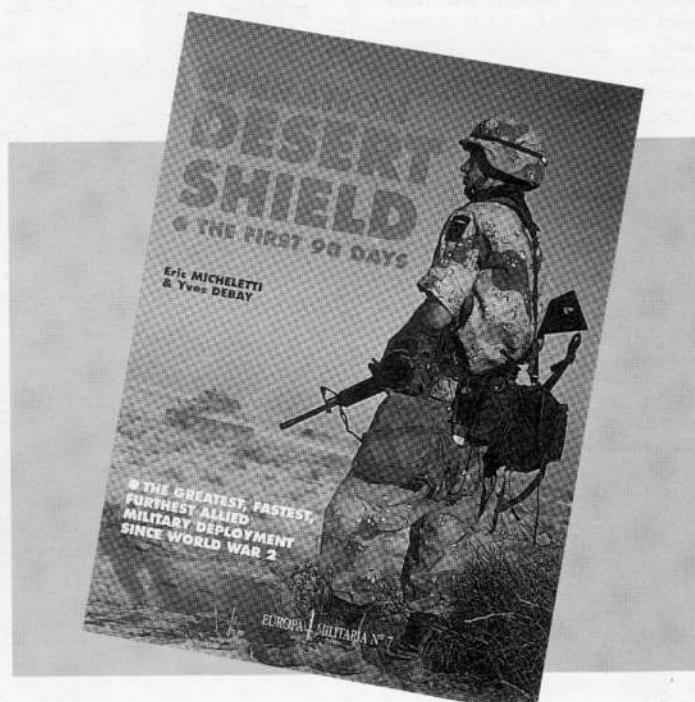
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Simon Fraser

STUART REID Paintings by ANGUS McBRIDE

Simon Fraser, sometime Master of Lovat, had the unusual distinction of dying a major-general in the British Army after having begun his military career by fighting against it as a colonel in the Jacobite army.

The eldest son of Simon, 12th Lord Lovat, he was born on 19 October 1726; and at the outset of the Jacobite rebellion in 1745 was studying at St. Andrew's University. His father was at first uncertain about declaring for the Pretender, but by the end of the year had committed himself, and appointed the 19-year-old Master to command a regiment raised from amongst the Frasers. This unit joined the rebel army at Bannockburn in January 1746, and fought in the front line at the battle of Falkirk on the 17th. He appears to have missed the battle of Culloden, however; the Frasers were commanded there by an Aberdeenshire laird, Charles Fraser, younger of Inverlochy. Simon had been gathering recruits and is said to have been actually hurrying towards the battlefield when, half way from Inverness, he met the fugitives rushing in the opposite direction.

Attainted for his part in the rebellion, he surrendered himself and was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for ten months. Subsequently a full and free pardon was granted in 1750, so presumably he could count on some influence. Admitted as an advocate in 1752, he assisted in the prosecution of James Stewart in the infamous Appin Murder trial.

Having thus firmly established himself in the government interest, some doubt may be cast upon his claim to have been offered a regiment in the French service. A contemporary described him as hard and rapacious under a polished exterior; and this

largely officered by men, or the sons of men, who had fought for the Pretender. (Among them was Captain Simon Fraser of Inverlochy, brother of the man who had led the Frasers at Culloden).

THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN

Colonel Fraser and his men were shipped to America, landing at Halifax in June 1757 and subsequently taking part in the capture of Louisburg. In 1759 they sailed with Wolfe to Quebec; Fraser was wounded in the abortive landing at the Montmorency Falls on 31 July, but was probably in command of his regiment in the battle on the Plains of Abraham on 13 September. Having captured Quebec the British army found itself in turn blockaded by another French army; and on 28 April 1760 Gen. Murray marched out to fight. In the disastrous action at Sillery which followed Simon Fraser commanded the left wing,

comprising his own regiment with the 43rd and 47th. The return of the Royal Navy within the fortnight forced the French to raise the siege, however; and Simon Fraser again commanded a brigade in the advance on Montreal.

Leaving his regiment in America, where it was disbanded in 1763, Simon Fraser went to Portugal as a brigadier-general with the British expeditionary force, but soon got himself a temporary appointment as a major-general in the Portuguese service.

At the end of the war in 1763 he was placed on half-pay, but in the meantime had been returned as member of Parliament for Inverness-shire, holding the seat until his death in 1782. By 1771 he had risen in seniority to the rank of major-general, and was thus well placed to offer to the Crown another regiment, this time comprising two battalions, in 1775. Like its predecessor this unit fought with some distinction in America, although on this occasion Simon Fraser got no further than Greenock, where he saw them off. Consequently his subsequent speeches in the House of Commons, denouncing the government for a want of vigour in prosecuting the war, display a certain degree of humbug. He died in his bed, in Downing Street, on 8 February 1782.

Other Simon Frasers

Simon was a very common Fraser Christian name, and two of his contemporary namesakes also rose to senior rank, engendering some confusion. One was Brigadier-General Simon Fraser, youn-



Simon Fraser in the uniform of a major-general; the artist and present whereabouts of this miniature portrait are unknown. By the style of the uniform it is possibly a posthumous portrait, although confusion with the other two Simon Frasers is ruled out by the close facial resemblance which the sitter bears to a much earlier portrait by Nollekens, and to portraits of his father Lord Lovat. (Scottish National Portrait Gallery)

gest son of Hugh Fraser of Balnain. Originally in the Dutch service, he joined the Royal Americans in 1755, transferring to the 78th two years later. By late 1760 he was serving in Germany, and in 1762 was appointed to a majority in the 24th Foot. Lieutenant-colonel of the regiment by 1776, he sailed with it to Canada, was appointed brigadier-general, and was killed at Saratoga in 1777. The third Simon, born in 1738, began his service as a lieutenant in the 78th and raised a company for the 71st in 1775, rising eventually to the rank of major before being placed upon half-pay once again in 1783. In 1793 he raised the short-lived 133rd (Fraser Highlanders), became a major-general in 1795, commanded the British troops in Portugal 1797-1800, and died a lieutenant-general in 1813.

FRASER'S UNIFORMS

Angus McBride's reconstructions for this article show Simon Fraser firstly as Lieutenant-Colonel, 78th (2nd Highland) Regiment at Quebec in 1759.

The uniform worn on this occasion has been reconstructed largely from a fairly well-known painting by William Delacour, entitled '*A Pinch of Snuff*', depicting an unknown Highland officer of the 1750s. Identified as a member of the 78th by his white facings and a tuft of bearskin in his flat blue bonnet, the officer wears a brown plaid with narrow black and very dark green overstripes, not the government or Black Watch sett. An officer of the 78th, possibly Fraser himself, also appears in Benjamin West's splendid, if rather anachronistic '*Death of Wolfe*', wearing a red plaid with cream or buff and green overstripes. Neither sett can be identified, but the intention was clearly to depict something other than the government sett. It may well be the case that no uniform tartan was worn by the 78th, though the soldiers in the background of Delacour's painting appear to be wearing

brown plaids similar to the officer's.

The artist has here adapted the apparent sett in the Delacour painting, on the assumption that what Delacour shows as a kind of shaded band was in fact a series of fine lines; all the genuine early tartan fragments examined have featured a surprising number of fine lines or 'overchecks', and McBride has chosen to produce a tartan of appropriate complexity which when seen at a distance reproduces the effect of the Delacour painting.

The white lapels are in some degree conjectural, although shown by West. Delacour's subject has no lapels (the soldier's coats are also shown as being unlaced); but Alan Ramsay's slightly earlier portrait of the Earl of Loudon as Colonel of the 64th Highlanders c.1748 evidences lapels, as does Pompeo Batoni's portrait of Lieutenant-Colonel Willaim Gordon of the 105th Highlanders c.1763. Lapels also appear in a possibly anachronistic portrait of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Murray Keith of the 87th Highlanders (not painted until 1773). These portraits suggest that field, though not company officers of Highland regiments were distinguished at this time by the wearing of lapels in their facing colours.

The coats worn by the Earl of Loudon and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon are heavily laced, but the officer of the 78th in West's painting has only a thin strip of lace on his waistcoat. While painted some years after the event and including a number of individuals known not to have been present, this painting incorporates a number of interesting features of campaign dress, not least a tendency to plainer clothing.

The stockings are of the usual form worn by both officers and men in Highland regiments. Morier's grenadier of the 42nd painted in 1751 appears to be wearing an unusual harlequin check, but both Delacour's officer and the soldiers in the back-

ground wear stockings of the usual form.

The broadsword hilt is of a form which appears to have been popular with officers of Highland regiments in the 18th century. Several examples survive and others may be seen in the portraits of Lieutenant Colonel Gordon, Captain Gorry of the 87th, and Delacour's unknown officer of the 78th to cite but three examples.

The second reconstruction shows Fraser as Major-General and Colonel, 71st Fraser's Highlanders, 1775.

This uniform illustrates very clearly the changes which had taken place in the clothing of Highland regiments since the Seven Years' War. To judge by portrait evidence company officers of the 42nd were wearing lapels by the mid-1760s, and when the 71st was raised in 1775 they, like the 42nd, conformed to the 1768 regulations calling for lapels in the facing colour to be worn by all ranks. The coat remained short however, and the skirts were turned back only at the front. Like a number of other Highland units raised for the American War the 71st had buttons placed in pairs on the lapels, and, again in conformity with the 1768 regulations, these bore the regiment's number. It was also customary for officers of Highland regiments, like grenadiers, to wear two epaulettes, in Fraser's case those of a major-general as worn in his portrait.

The white waistcoat and the altered coat style were the result of the 1768 regulations, but at about this time the style of the bonnet also altered quite dramatically, at least as worn by officers. It was now blocked up and probably stiffened with leather to protect the wearer's head from sword cuts. Various origins have been suggested for the chequered band which also appeared on the bonnet at the same time, none of them particularly convincing. Illustrations of the earlier flat blue bonnet show only a narrow plain blue or plain red band, so it seems likely that

the broad chequered one was a purely decorative feature introduced to relieve the plain blue sides of the now upright bonnet. This might also be suggested by the fact that the band mirrors in some degree the chequered stockings, and also by the occasional appearance of portraits depicting a diagonally rather than horizontally checked band.

In time rank and file bonnets would also conform to this style, but there is some evidence to show that the older blue bonnet remained in use at least as late as 1779. It is certainly shown in a sketch of a soldier of the 84th Highland Emigrants on the Saratoga campaign, and in some contemporary sketches of Highland soldiers at Gibraltar. Moreover, when prescribing the uniform to be worn by his corps in 1775 Simon Fraser said that the men were to wear 'blue bonnets', and this is confirmed by tailors' bills for clothing provided for the company of the 71st raised in Banffshire by the Duchess of Gordon for Captain Maxwell. In this connection it may be worth adding that when the Argyll Fencibles mutinied in Edinburgh in 1779 they complained, amongst other things, of being required to cock up their bonnets in an unnatural manner.

It is possible that the brown or mixed setts originally worn by Fraser's 78th at Quebec were replaced in time with the more readily available government sett, but at any rate in 1775 Simon Fraser specified that it should be worn by the newly raised 71st.

The sporran and sword belt are based upon a portrait of Major Duncan McPherson of the 1/71st and upon a surviving example in the Scottish United Services Museum. The rather elaborate reinforcement to the tongue of the sword-belt bears the old Scottish motto *Nemo Me Impune Lascit* while the slide has *Quic quid aut facere aut pati*. Both mottoes also appear on the circular 'cap badge' worn over the cockade on the bonnet. **MI**

Simon Fraser



Colonel, 71st Foot, 1775

*Lieutenant-Colonel,
78th Foot; Canada, 1759*